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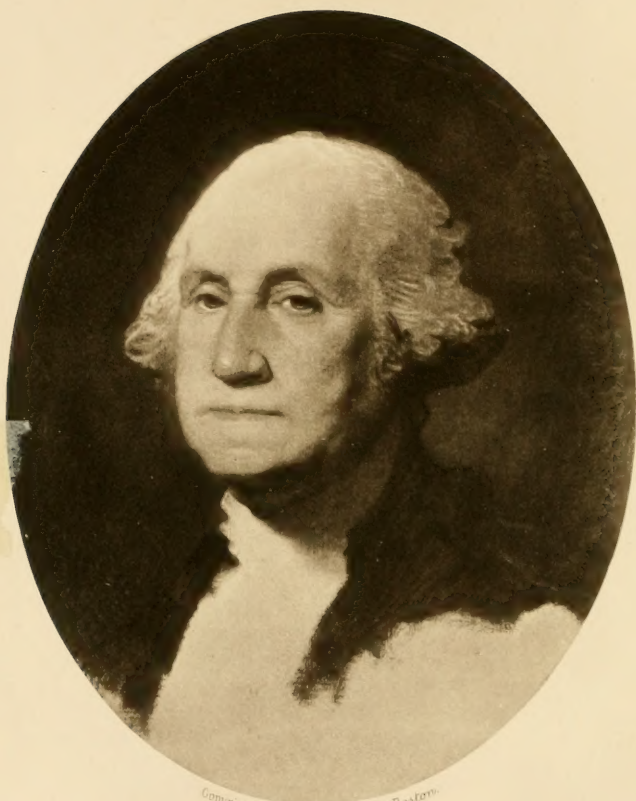
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G. Washington

From the Athenaeum portrait by Gilbert Stuart.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

BY

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PROFESSOR OF HISTORY IN HAVERFORD COLLEGE, PENNSYLVANIA

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY

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NEW EDITION

REWRITTEN AND NEWLY ILLUSTRATED

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AN ELEMENTARY HISTORY OF THE
UNITED STATES.

FOR MIDDLE GRADES.

Cloth. 357 pages. Maps and Illustrations.

A HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES.

FOR UPPER GRADES.

Half-leather. 600 pages. Maps and Illustrations.

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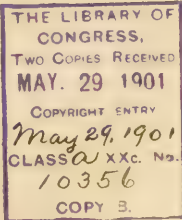
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PREFACE.

THIS new edition has been thoroughly revised and largely rewritten; it is printed from entirely new plates, has been newly and fully illustrated, and contains many new maps. Every effort has been made to profit by the suggestions contained in recent publications on the writing, study, and teaching of history. To the friendly criticism of many instructors who have used the book during the years it has been before the public, the author is deeply indebted, as well as to other critics, among whom Professor W. I. Marshall of Chicago should be named.

Great pains have been taken to correct all errors in statements of fact, and dates and references have been verified. The appendices have been carefully gone over and the latest available data used for the statistical tables.

The aim of this work is to give the main facts of the history of the United States clearly, accurately, and impartially. In the belief that the importance of the events which have occurred since the adoption of the Constitution is becoming more and more recognized, much the greater part of the book is devoted to the era beginning with 1789. The period of discovery and colonization, however, is treated with sufficient fulness to show clearly the origins of the people and of their institutions.

Throughout, special attention is given to the political, social, and economic development of the nation. While the details of battles are omitted, the importance of war periods is not underestimated, but the stress is laid upon causes and results.

The illustrations are not imaginative, but realistic, and the numerous portraits are from authentic sources. The maps are intended to illustrate the text, and more particularly to indicate territorial changes and growth. With two exceptions they have been designed especially for this work.

ALLEN C. THOMAS.

HAVERFORD, PA.,
May, 1901.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE PHYSICAL FEATURES OF NORTH AMERICA.

REFERENCE.

N. S. Shaler, *Story of our Continent.*

MEN who live in warm climates are unlike the dwellers in cold or in temperate ones. The occupations of men who live among the mountains differ from those on the plains; those of seafaring folk from those who live inland. A Norwegian, whose country is pierced by many and deep fjords or bays, becomes a sailor. A Russian or a North German, with his large extent of inland country, gets his living from the soil; he must cultivate such crops as will grow where the winters are long and cold, and the summers are short. On the other hand, the Italian and the Spaniard, whose winters are short and mild, and whose summers are long and often hot, may cultivate the vine, the orange, the olive, and such crops as cannot be grown in cold climates.

Effects of
climate.

The tropics.

A warm climate encourages indolence. Where wants are few and nature supplies an abundance there is little stimulus to exertion.

The polar
regions.

In the coldest regions the difficulty of supporting life is great; the summers are too short for crops to mature. Extremes of heat and cold hinder man's development.

In the temperate zone occur the most favorable conditions for the development of man, for they are such as to cause

exertion, yet are favorable enough to give satisfactory returns.

With the exception of Alaska, the territory on the continent of North America now occupied by the United States lies wholly within the temperate zone. It has nearly the same average temperature as that of the greater part of Europe, though the winters are colder and the summers are warmer.

The
temperate
zone.

The fertility of a country depends largely upon the amount of rain which falls during the year. In the United States, east of the one hundredth meridian west of Greenwich the average annual rainfall is considerably greater than that of Europe. West of that meridian, as far as the Rocky Mountains, the annual rainfall is much less, and there exist large plains almost desert, which cannot be cultivated without irrigation. Even on the Pacific coast there are districts where the rainfall is too slight to make agriculture profitable unless aided by irrigation.

Fertility and
rainfall.

The Atlantic slope or plain of North America is well adapted for settlement. There are many good harbors, and many navigable rivers which have their sources far inland. The slope is bounded on the west by mountain ranges of low elevation. These ranges are pierced by openings called gaps, through which settlers could pass to the great interior basin of the Mississippi River, when the time for expansion came. In the northern part of what is now the state of New York only low hills separate the eastern slope from the Mississippi basin, so that access to the country immediately south of the Great Lakes is easy.

The Atlantic
slope.

Basin of the
Mississippi.

North America contains some of the richest deposits of coal and iron ore in the world, and ores of other metals are common. North America is, perhaps, richer in the important minerals than any other continent. The soil is

Metals and
minerals.

Fertile
soil and
varied
crops.

generally fertile, and nearly all crops belonging to a temperate climate can be raised. The variety of crops is greater than in Europe. When the first settlers came, there were vast forests; wild game and fish abounded, and, on the coast, were quantities of shellfish. A scanty population of natives, at first friendly, though afterward hostile, gave the newcomers ample room. It is easily seen why an active, enterprising race amid such surroundings, and with such opportunities, should quickly attain prosperity.

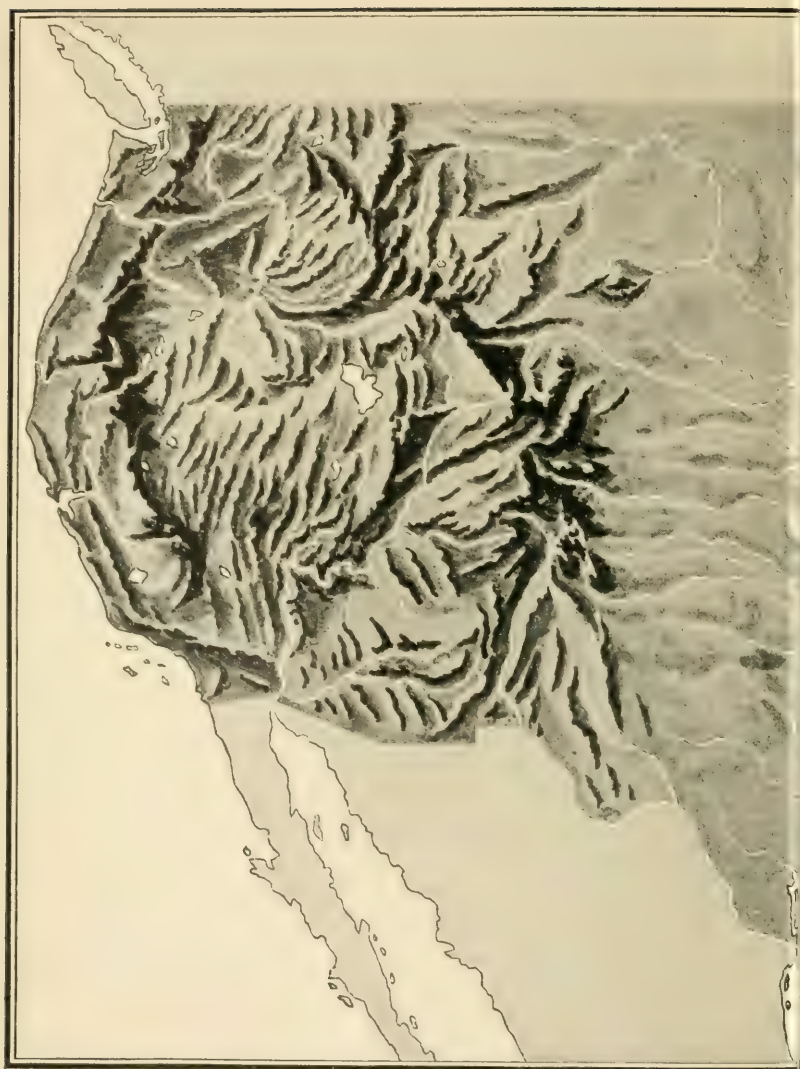
Pacific
slope.

Prehistoric
settlement.

The western coast of the continent was too distant to be considered as a place for settlers by Europeans three hundred years ago. Had Asia been peopled by a race like those of western Europe, it is likely the continent would have been settled from Asia; for the Pacific Ocean, though broad, is comparatively peaceful, and could not be regarded as an impassable barrier. It is altogether probable that the American continents were peopled from Asia in prehistoric times, by men crossing the Pacific or coming by way of Bering Strait or by using both routes.

Anglo-
Saxon race.

That Europeans should have taken possession of America is, therefore, what might have been expected; that the territory of the United States should have fallen to the Anglo-Saxon race is one of the happy incidents of history.





A PHYSICAL MAP
OF THE
UNITED STATES

History of the United States.

CHAPTER I.

DISCOVERY.

REFERENCES.

F. Starr, American Indians; H. C. Wright, Children's Stories in American History; E. E. Hale, Stories of Discovery; T. W. Higginson, Young Folks' History of American Explorers; American History Leaflets, No. 1, Letters of Columbus; M. L. Pratt, America's Story for America's Children, vol. ii.

1. North America; its Inhabitants. (1492.)—Four hundred years ago the territory of the United States was a vast wilderness, occupied rather than settled by numerous tribes of a native race. This people had a red or copper-colored skin, long, coarse, straight black hair, black eyes, and high cheek bones. The men had scanty beards and were not heavily built, but they were strong, athletic, and enduring. They would bear hunger and every kind of want and suffering in silence. They were swift runners, skilful in the use of the canoe, and unequalled woodsmen. They knew the habits and haunts of every bird and wild animal, and could imitate their cries so as to deceive persons familiar with the forest and its inhabitants.

The Indians.

Their skill.

With unerring skill they would follow the trail of man or animal; and they could find their way in the pathless wilderness by signs invisible to civilized men. They would

steal upon their game, or upon their foes, with a noiseless, catlike tread, giving no hint of their nearness until the swift arrow struck its victim, or the terrible war-whoop made their presence known.

Indian
warfare.

The men were hunters and warriors, but they did not carry on open warfare; they preferred to surprise their enemies. They would shoot from behind trees or from the midst of thickets; they would stealthily attack their sleeping foes by night, set fire to their wigwams, and as the occupants rushed forth from their blazing dwellings, strike them down with tomahawks.

Faithful and kind to their friends, they were cruel and treacherous toward their enemies. To kill and scalp a foe was a duty and a joy, and he was held to be the bravest warrior who had the greatest number of human scalps dangling from his hunting belt.

Indian
women.

The Indian man did not hunt and fish for sport, but to provide food for himself and family. He built the house or hut, fortified the village, and was the defender of his family and his tribe. Much of the manual labor fell upon the women. They carried the heavy burdens, tilled the soil, dressed the skins and made them into garments, they prepared the food, and cared for the children. Woman, however, exerted no little influence. She sometimes decided whether there was to be peace or war. She had control of the children. If her husband was lazy or failed to provide for his family, she could cast him off.

Indian
agriculture.

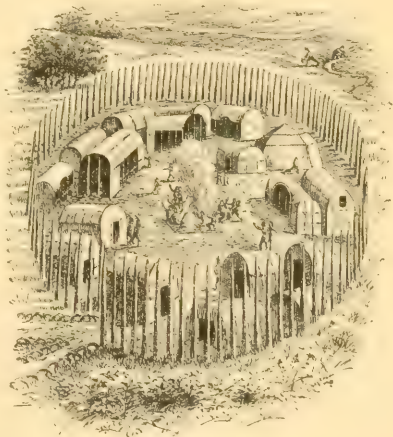
Depending chiefly upon game for food, the Indians were compelled to roam about in search of the various animals on which they were accustomed to subsist. They tilled a little land and raised Indian corn, — sometimes called maize, — beans, pumpkins, and a few other vegetables; they also cultivated tobacco, of which they were very fond.

They pounded the grains of maize in rough wooden mortars or between stones, making hominy or a coarse meal. They had earthen pots, and vessels made from birch bark, in which they cooked food and boiled water by dropping in red-hot stones. Those who lived by the seashore were fond of fish, clams, and oysters. Food.

Their implements were rude. Their arrows and spears were tipped with flint, and their hatchets or tomahawks were stones shaped with great labor and fastened to the handles with thongs of hide. Implements and weapons.

Men and women wore but little clothing in summer; in winter they clad themselves with dressed skins of the buffalo, deer, or other animals. Clothing.

The houses of the Indians varied greatly. Some were large, accommodating several families; some were for single families. The materials out of which they were constructed varied with the place. Some of the Indians built rude timber houses of one story, but for the most part they lived in huts or wigwams made by setting poles in the ground and bending them over, or bringing them together at the top, and covering the whole with skins or mats. A wigwam had no windows; a fire was built in the centre, and the smoke found its way out Houses.



PALISADED INDIAN VILLAGE.

Algonkin village of Pomeiock, on Albemarle Sound, in 1585. After John Wyth, copied in Morgan.

Wigwams.

through an opening at the top. The wigwams were generally built near each other, forming a village, which was surrounded by a stockade made by driving posts in the ground very close together.

The tribes in the south and southwest were in many ways further advanced in civilization than their neighbors to the north and east; their dwellings were better and more substantial.

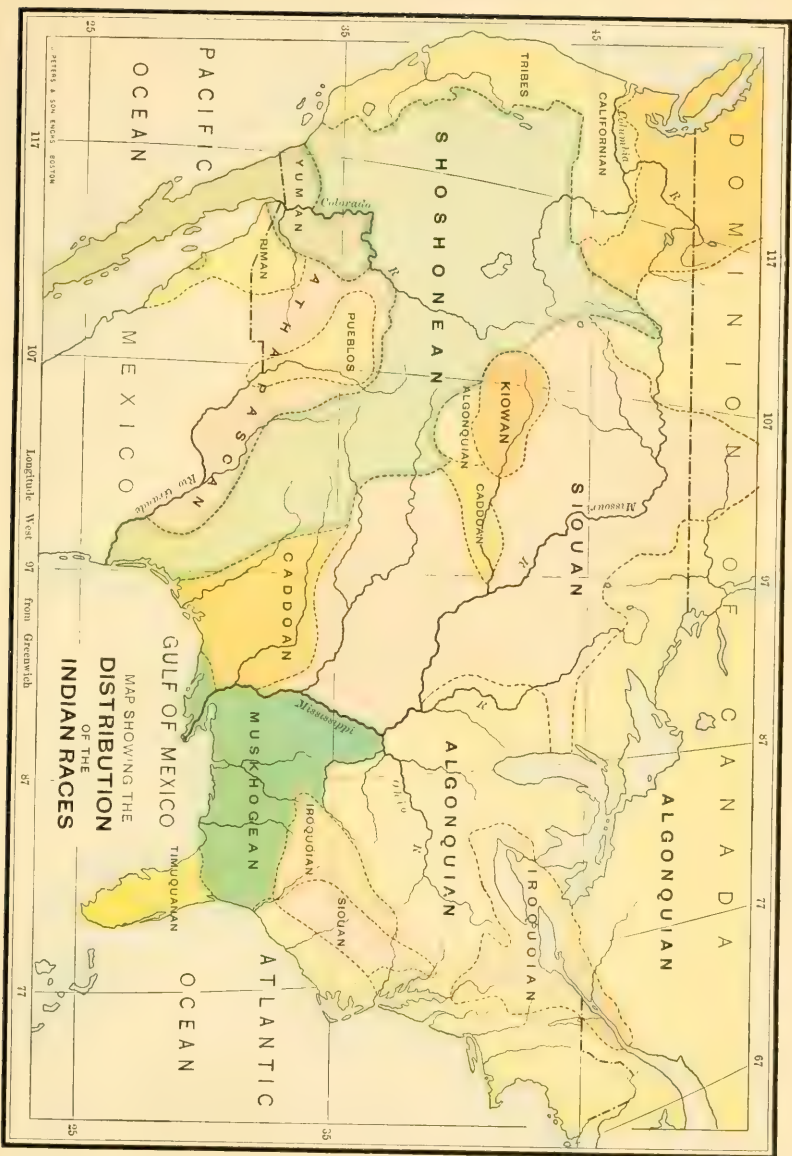
In Ohio and in some of the other states there are many remains in the form of mounds and enclosures; the implements and ornaments found in them have led some to believe that a race superior to the Indians inhabited this continent centuries before its discovery by Europeans; but it is now generally believed that the Mound Builders, as they have been called, were the ancestors of the Indians.

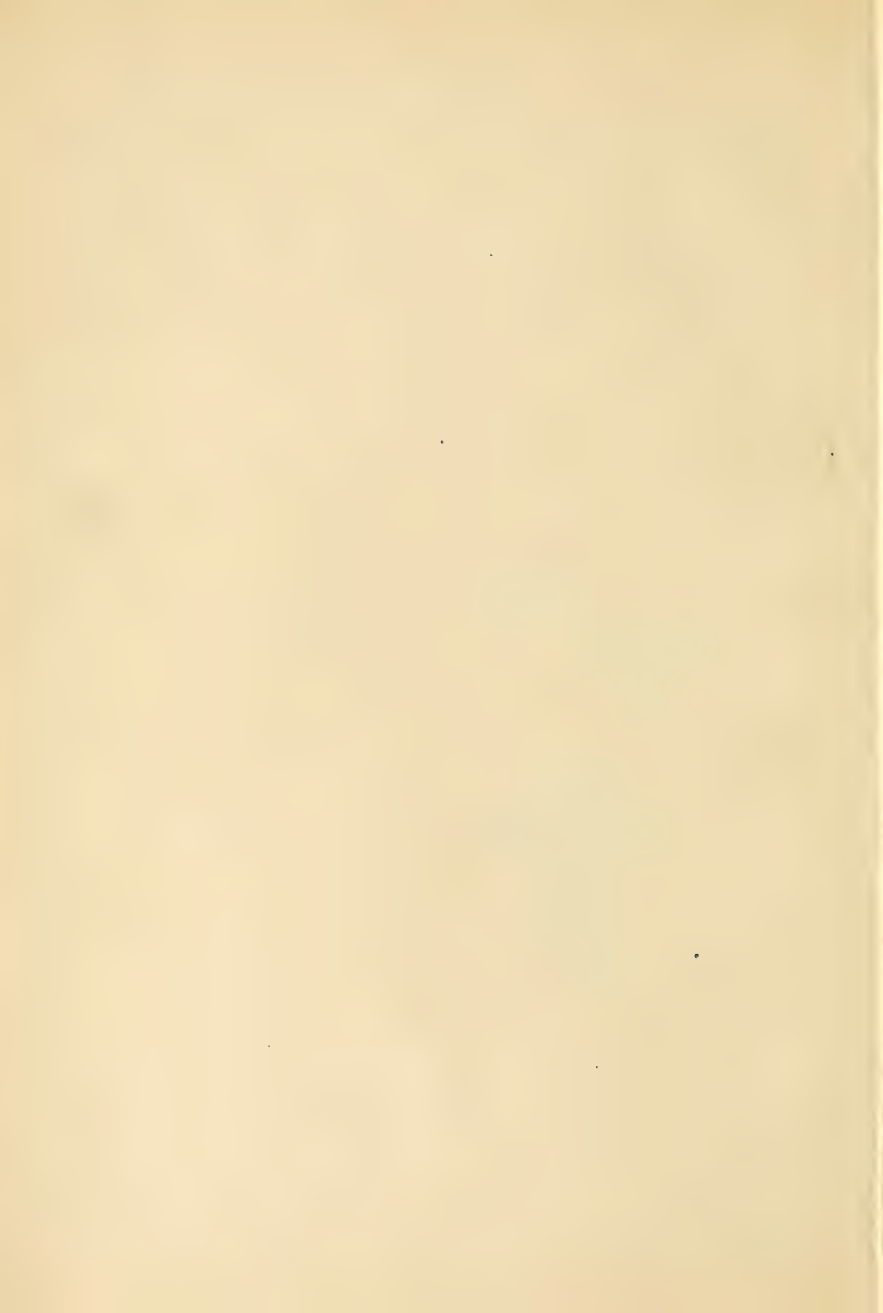
2. The Indians. (1492.)—The Indians east of the Mississippi River were divided into three great families, each speaking a language of its own; these were:—

(1) The Algonkins, the most numerous, who held the larger part of the country from South Carolina and Tennessee to the Great Lakes, and from the Atlantic Ocean to the Mississippi River. They were very rude and warlike.

(2) The Iroquois, who were found chiefly in what is now central and western New York and in North Carolina. Those in New York were the Mohawks, Oneidas, Onondagas, Cayugas, and Senecas, and were known by the name of the "Five Nations." After the Tuscaroras, who had lived in North Carolina, joined them in 1714 and 1715, the New York Indians were called the "Six Nations." The Hurons, who lived near the lake of the same name, though Iroquois, were hostile to the "Five Nations."

(3) The Southern Indians, sometimes called the Mus-





kogee family, or Mobilians, occupied the country south of the Algonkins. The most important of this group were the Creeks, Chickasaws, Choctaws, and Seminoles. They were less savage than the other groups and more readily adopted some of the habits and customs of the whites.

Southern
Indians.

Along the Mississippi River, and between it and the Rocky Mountains, in the regions of the north and middle West, roamed the great family of the Sioux or Dakotas. They were the wildest of all the tribes.

Sioux and
Dakotas.



PUEBLO HOUSES OF SUN-DRIED BRICK.

From George Parker Winship's account of The Coronado Expedition in the Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology.

South and southwest of the land of the Sioux lived various tribes; among them were the Pueblo Indians. They occupied houses built of sun-dried brick, or dwellings cut out of the cliffs. They lived in communities, and tilled the land skilfully, irrigating their fields with water brought down from the mountains. They wove cloth, and made pottery of attractive shapes and coloring. They were, in fact, half-civilized.

Pueblos.

Still other tribes lived on the Pacific coast.

Number of
Indians in
492.

It is not easy to estimate how many Indians were living, four hundred years ago, within the present boundaries of the United States. Those who have carefully studied the question are inclined to believe that the number was less than five hundred thousand. The tribes had suffered greatly from wars with one another, and still more from disease, so that much of the land was really uninhabited in the early part of the seventeenth century. Accustomed to roam from place to place in search of game, the Indians considered the hunting-grounds their own, and naturally they resisted seizure of them by the whites.¹

the North-
men.

3. The Northmen. (900 1000.) — There is little doubt that, about the year 1000, Norwegian seamen, often called



LEIF ERICSON.

One of the Northmen

From the statue by Miss
A. Whitney, Boston.

Northmen, had sailed from Iceland to Greenland, and thence to Labrador. They may have sailed along the coast of North America as far as Rhode Island, which it is thought may be the Vinland of the old Sagas. Some even think that traces of Norse settlements can still be seen within the bounds of the present United States. The Northmen must have carried home news of their discovery; but Norway was a remote country and its inhabitants were dreaded by the rest of Europe as freebooters. Their stories would hardly have been believed, even if carried to other Europeans. If these stories ever had been

¹ When the great amount of land which is necessary to support man in the hunter stage is considered, the estimate above does not seem out of the way. According to the Census of 1800 there were, exclusive of Alaska, 249,273 Indians in the United States.

known they were forgotten, and even in Norway the knowledge of the existence of a western continent had been lost. It is probable, however, that before 1492 French fishermen from Brittany had visited the Banks of Newfoundland and the island of the same name.

4. Columbus; Discovery of America. (1485-1492.) — Trade with the East.
For centuries Europe had been supplied with silks, spices, and other luxuries, from India and the East, by way of



ANCIENT TRADE ROUTES TO THE EAST.

Constantinople; but, in 1453, that city fell into the power of the semi-barbarous Turks and a new route to India seemed a necessity.

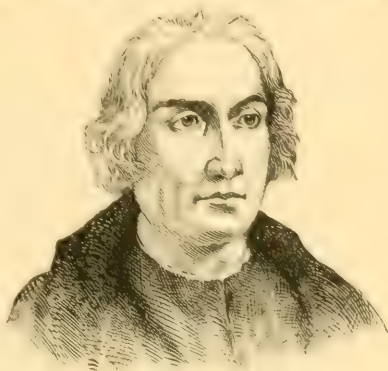
One of the great maritime nations of that day was Portuguese explorers.
Portugal. Her seamen were enterprising. Year after year, hoping to find a route to India, they had sailed farther and farther along the west coast of Africa. Bartolomeo Diaz, a Portuguese captain, discovered the cape, now known as the Cape of Good Hope, which he named the Cape of Storms 1487.

in 1487, but India was not reached by that route until 1497.

Christopher Columbus, the great discoverer, was born Columbus. in Genoa, Italy, about 1436. He spent most of his early life at sea, and became an experienced navigator. He was a man who read widely, and intelligently. When on shore his trade was the designing and making of maps. This occupation led him to think much about the shape of the earth, and he came to agree with those men who held that the earth is round like a globe. This belief led him to conclude that Asia could be reached by sailing westward, and that a new route to India could be opened.

Though Columbus was right in his belief that the earth is round, he was very much out of the way in his calculation of the distance between western Europe and Asia, for he supposed that it was but a few hundred miles.

Without means to fit out an expedition himself, he tried to induce in turn the governments of Genoa, Portugal, Eng-



CHRISTOPHER COLUMBUS.

COLUMBUS set out on his second voyage to America in 1493. He returned in 1496. His third voyage was begun in 1498. His rule in Hispaniola, over which he had been made governor, was complained of, and the man appointed to investigate the charges sent Columbus back in irons to Spain. Columbus was released on his arrival, and in May, 1502, started on his fourth and last voyage. He was shipwrecked, his crews mutinied, and he suffered much from exposure. He returned to Spain in 1504, and was received with scant courtesy by King Ferdinand. He died May 20, 1506, at Valladolid. His body rested in the cathedral at Seville until removed to Santo Domingo, Haiti, about 1541. In 1795, on the transfer of Haiti to France, a coffer containing, as was supposed, the remains of Columbus, was taken to Havana, Cuba. This, again, was taken to Spain in 1808. There are reasons for believing that an error was made; if so, the remains of the great explorer still rest in Haiti.

Columbus
and his
belief.

Isabella.

Sailing of
Columbus,
Aug. 3, 1492.

land, and Spain to aid him. One after another refused. At last, Isabella, queen of Spain, moved perhaps by the thought of benefiting the heathen, took up his cause; but it was seven years before he was furnished with money to fit out three small vessels for what seemed a foolhardy expedition. The little fleet sailed from Palos, Spain, August 3, 1492, and on the morning of October 12 Columbus



A CARAVEL OF COLUMBUS.

After the model shown at the Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893.

Discovers
America,
Oct. 12,
1492.

discovered land, an island of the Bahama group. This island he named *San Salvador*.¹

The account of the trials, the eventful voyage, and the ultimate success of Christopher Columbus must ever remain one of the most thrilling stories of history.

he news in
Europe.

The news Columbus brought back created a great stir in Europe. At once preparations were made, not only in Spain, but elsewhere, to send expeditions to the new coun-

¹ "I gave the name of the blessed Saviour, relying upon whose protection I had reached this, as well as the other, islands." Columbus, Letter to Sanchez. This island is probably that now known as Watling's Island. October 12 old style, October 21 according to present reckoning.

try which he had discovered. Columbus and many others believed that he had reached India. This error caused the natives of the new world to be called Indians, and the islands the West Indies.

Columbus visited Central America and South America, but never saw the continental part of North America.

5. The Cabots ; the Name of America. (1493-1507.)

— The maritime nations of Europe in the sixteenth century Maritime nations.

were Spain, Portugal, France, Holland, and England. Every early discovery was made under the auspices of one of these countries. The Spanish discoveries were south of Virginia: Portugal, by agreement with Spain, confined her attention to Africa, the East Indies, and Brazil: France devoted most of her efforts to lands lying along the St. Lawrence, and to Acadie, now Nova Scotia: Holland explored the middle and northeastern coast of North America: England, through John Cabot, probably accompanied by his son Sebastian, had discovered the continent of North America in 1497. In a later voyage the Cabots sailed along the whole coast from Cape Breton to Albemarle Sound. The English gave little attention to these discoveries at the time,



SEBASTIAN CABOT.

After the picture ascribed to Holbein.

THE CABOTS.

JOHN CABOT, a citizen of Venice, came to England, and, with his wife and three sons, was living in Bristol in 1495. In 1496 he obtained leave for himself and his sons to go on a voyage of discovery. He sailed in 1497, and discovered the continent of North America, probably seeing it first near the island of Cape Breton. He went on a second voyage in 1498, on which he sailed along the coast, perhaps as far as the Carolinas. Nothing whatever is known of John Cabot after this time. His son Sebastian probably accompanied his father. Sebastian lived to be an old man. The accounts of the Cabots and their discovery are unsatisfactory.

The Cabots and their discoveries.

but, later, they based upon them their claim to American possessions.

Americus
Vespucius.

Amerigo Vespucci was a Florentine, who lived in Spain. Between 1499 and 1503 he made four voyages to South



AMERIGO VESPUCCI.

After the portrait in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

AMERIGO VESPUCCI, in Latin, Americus Vespucius, was born in Florence, Italy, in 1451. He went to live in Spain about 1460. He was a friend of Columbus. It has been claimed that he made his first voyage in 1497, and that he discovered the continent of North America eighteen days before John Cabot. The best judges, however, think that 1499 is the correct date. King Ferdinand appointed him "pilot-major" of Spain in 1508. Vespucci died poor in 1512. The accounts of Vespucci are, like those of the Cabots, very unsatisfactory.

the name
America.

Amerige or America." This name at first given to South America only, was soon applied to both continents. Thus the honor which belonged to Columbus was thrust upon another man.

6. Spanish Discoveries; the Pacific; Balboa; Magellan; De Soto. (1513-1542.) — Juan Ponce de Leon sailed from

America. An account of his voyages, published in 1504, was the first printed description of the new continent. Europe, Asia, and Africa were known as the three parts of the world; what should this new land be called? The question was soon answered. Waldseemüller, a German, and a teacher of geography in France, who had been much interested in the accounts of Vespucci, in 1507 printed a small Latin book with the title, "An Introduction to Geography." In this book was the following sentence: "And the fourth part of the world having been discovered by Amerigo or Americus, we may call it

Porto Rico on a voyage of discovery in 1513. On March 27 (Easter Sunday) he discovered the shore of a country which he called Florida, from the Spanish name of the day, *Pascua Florida* (the feast of flowers). In 1513 Vasco Nuñez de Balboa, crossing the Isthmus of Darien, was the first European to see the Pacific, which he called "the South Sea." Descending from the height from which he first saw the ocean, he rushed into the water, with drawn sword, claiming it for his sovereign, the king of Spain.

Ponce de Leon discovers Florida.



Balboa sees the Pacific, 1513.

VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA.

After the engraving in Herrera, 1728.

Under the auspices of Spain, Fernando de Magellan first made known the true geographical character of the new world. Sailing from Spain in 1519, he coasted along the eastern shores of South America, and, reaching on October 20, 1520, the straits which now bear his name, he sailed through them and continued his voyage some distance up the western coast. He then boldly turned west across the ocean, which, from its peaceful waters, he had already called the Pacific. Five vessels and two hundred and fifty-four men started out on this voyage, but only one vessel and fifteen men reached Spain (1522); Magellan was killed by the natives at the Philippine

VASCO NUÑEZ DE BALBOA was born in Spain about 1475. He went to the West Indies in 1501, and in 1510 joined a party of settlers who founded a town on the Isthmus of Panama. Troubles broke out among the adventurers with the result that Balboa became the leader. On one of his exploring expeditions he discovered the Pacific. He fell a victim to the jealousy of a governor who had been sent out from Spain; he was executed on the charge of treason, 1517. The gulf where he first saw the Pacific still bears the name he gave it, San Miguel.

Magellan.

His voyage.

Names the Pacific.

Islands. His voyage was the first circumnavigation of the world.

Cortez
conquers
Mexico.

Hernando Cortez, in 1519, landed in Mexico, and within two years conquered it for Spain. In 1539, Hernando de



FERDINAND MAGELLAN.

After the engraving by De L'Armessin.

De Soto
discovers
the Missis-
sippi,
1541.

FERNANDO DE MAGALHAENS (mah-gal-yah'-ens), known as Magellan, was born in Portugal about 1470. At first in the service of his own country, he afterward entered that of Spain. He was given command of a fleet of five vessels. With these he sailed, September, 1519, on his celebrated voyages. One of his ships secretly deserted him. He had already lost one. With the three remaining ships he sailed on, and came out into the South Sea, which he named the Pacific. He discovered, in March, 1521, a group of islands which he named from the thieving propensities of the natives, the *Ladrones* (robbers). He visited the island Guam, which now belongs to the United States.

Soto, a Spaniard, sailed from Cuba, and, landing at Tampa Bay on the west coast of Florida, set out on an overland expedition mainly in search of gold. The explorer and his followers wandered about for two years, and after many privations, in the spring of 1541 reached the Mississippi River, then for the first time seen by white men. In 1542 De Soto died; owing to fear of the Indians his body was buried at midnight in the waters of the great stream which he had discovered. His companions finally reached the Spanish settlements in Mexico.

7. English Attempts at Colonization; Sir Walter Raleigh. (1576-1602.) — The men of that day were so full of the idea of getting to India, or were so busy with affairs at home, that it was long before they thought of making definite plans of colonization. It was not until 1576 that Martin Frobisher, an Englishman, attempted to make a settlement on the coast of Labrador. His attempt was a

Frobisher's
colony
in Labrador.

failure, as was also a similar undertaking in 1578 under Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who was not disheartened, but made a second attempt, in which he lost his life, in 1583. The next year Sir Walter Raleigh, a half-brother of Gilbert, sent out an expedition which explored a part of the coast of what is now North Carolina.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert.



Raleigh names Virginia, 1585.

HERNANDO DE SOTO.

Raleigh's colonies.

Glowing accounts were brought back; Raleigh called the country Virginia in honor of Elizabeth, his virgin queen, and sent out a colony in 1585. These colonists, who were all men, knew neither how to prepare themselves for such a life, nor how to make use of the resources of the country. They settled on Roanoke Island, off the coast of North Carolina, and almost starved to death before a ship arrived to look after them. They all returned to England; but Raleigh, not discouraged, sent out another colony in 1587 to the same place. This time he sent women and children along with the men. John White was appointed governor. Soon after the arrival of the colony a little girl was born, the first child born in America of English parents. Not long after, John White went back to England for supplies. Owing to a war with Spain it was three years before he could return. When he reached the site of the colony, all the settlers had disappeared, and with them little Virginia Dare. It is not certainly known what became of them, though it is probable that the few survivors joined a neighboring tribe of Indians.

Gosnold,
1602.

In 1602 Bartholomew Gosnold attempted to make a settlement on Cuttyhunk, an island in Buzzards Bay, in Massachusetts, but it was unsuccessful. More than a century had passed since the discovery of America, and there was not an English colony on the American coast.

French and
Spanish
attempts to
colonize.



SIR WALTER RALEIGH.

After the portrait owned by the Duchess of Dorset.

RALEIGH was born in Devonshire, England, in 1552. He studied at Oxford for a short time, and then fought in France on the side of the Huguenots for five years. He then fought in Ireland. In addition to his efforts to plant colonies in North America, he himself sailed in 1595, with five vessels, to seek for El Dorado, or the "golden land," said to be somewhere in South America. This expedition accomplished little. Raleigh next served with great success as rear admiral in the navy. With the death of Queen Elizabeth he lost his place in royal favor. Raleigh was arrested in 1602 on a charge of treason, and on slight evidence was convicted. He was sent to the Tower of London, where he was kept in confinement for thirteen years. He was then released, and went on an expedition to Guiana. This voyage was unsuccessful in finding gold. On his return he was arrested on the old charge, and, to please Spain, whose favor King James wished to gain, Raleigh was executed in 1618. He was a statesman, a soldier, a seaman, a poet, and an historian.

8. French and Spanish Attempts at Colonization. (1540-1605.)—The English were not alone in their failures; France also had made attempts at colonization at what was afterward Quebec (1540); at Port Royal, South Carolina (1562); and near St. Augustine, Florida (1564). Spain had been more successful at St. Augustine (1565), at Santa Fé (1582), and in Mexico. The French were successful after

1605, but their colonies were confined to Canada and what is now Nova Scotia.

At first sight it may seem strange that there should have been so many failures, but it must be remembered

Reason of
the failures.

that the main purpose of the early colonists was to find gold. Few men went out fully intending to be permanent settlers. Those who went were mostly persons who could not get on at home, and who thought they could escape hard work by going to a country where gold and silver were to be had without labor. Then, again, the companies were few in numbers, and unable

to protect themselves against hostile Indians. They were cut off from help or supplies from home, and knew little of the country itself and its requirements in regard to clothing, crops, and climate.

On this site, in July-August, 1585, (O. S), colonists, sent out from England by Sir Walter Raleigh, built a fort, called by them

"The New Fort in Virginia."

These colonists were the first settlers of the English race in America. They returned to England in July, 1586, with Sir Francis Drake,

Near this place was born, on the 18th of August, 1587

Virginia Dare,

The first child of English parents born in America — daughter of Ananias Dare and Eleanor White, his wife, members of another band of colonists sent out by Sir Walter Raleigh in 1587.

PART OF INSCRIPTION ON A TABLET AT OLD
FORT RALEIGH.

SUMMARY.

Four hundred years ago the continents of North and South America were unknown to Europeans. The territory of the United States was occupied by native races, either savage or only partially civilized.

The Northmen probably visited North America about the year 1000. Columbus, while in search of a trade route to India, discovered the West Indies. He never knew that he had found a new world.

John Cabot and his son Sebastian discovered the continent of North America, 1497, and claimed it for England.

The name *America* was given in honor of Americus Vesputius.

Ponce de Leon discovered Florida; Balboa was the first European to see the Pacific. Magellan's vessel was the first to sail round the world and prove that it was a globe.

Sir Walter Raleigh sent out exploring expeditions, named Virginia, and made unsuccessful attempts to plant colonies in the new world.

The French in Canada, and the Spanish in Florida and New Mexico, were more successful in their efforts.

The failures were largely due to the fact that the colonists went to seek gold rather than to find homes.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xxxiv.

CHAPTER II.

COLONIZATION.

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9. English Success; Captain John Smith.

(1606-1609.) The first successful English colony was begun in 1606. In this year James I. granted a charter to two companies: one the London, the other the Plymouth Company. To the former was granted the coast between 34° and 38° north latitude, and to the latter the coast between 41° and 45° north latitude. The intervening country was to be common to both, but no set-



London
and
Plymouth
Companies.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH.

From the map in his "Description of New England."

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH was born in England in 1579. When he was about twenty-one he enlisted in the Austrian army, and fought against the Turks. Taken prisoner, he was made a slave; he killed his master and escaped into Russia. After a number of surprising adventures he reached England in time to join the emigrants to Virginia. In 1614 he explored the coast of New England, and to him that name is attributed. The latter part of his life was spent in England; he died in 1631, and like so many men of distinction, he died poor.

lements of the respective companies were to be within one hundred miles of each other. The interior limit for both companies was to be one hundred miles from the coast. The colonists were to have the same rights and privileges as those of Englishmen at home; the king was to appoint a council to govern each colony; and he was to have one-fifth of all the gold and silver that should be found.

The London Company. A plan of government for the colonies was provided, and the London Company sent out a party of settlers to Virginia. The emigrants embarked in three small ships. Of the one hundred and five men, for there were no women in the party, fifty-two were called "gentlemen." The rest were described as "mechanics and tradesmen," but it does not appear that there was a farmer on the list.

Jamestown, 1607. The emigrants landed at Jamestown on the James River in 1607. This was the first permanent English settlement in America. The site was not far from the Jamestown of to-day.

Hardships of the colonists. They had not come to work; indeed, few knew how to work. It was May (1607) when they landed; the winter seemed very far off, and they did not begin to plant crops until it was too late. Their stock of provisions gave out, and famine and fever caused many to die. In less than five months half their number had perished. The Indians were hostile, and had it not been for the energy of one man, under thirty years of age, the colony would have gone to ruin. This man was Captain John Smith.

Captain John Smith. He had already seen many adventures on the continent of Europe; and in spite of his love for marvellous stories, he appears to have been a very able and clear-headed man.¹

¹ He relates that at one time he was taken prisoner by the Indians, and his head was already on the block upon which his brains were to be beaten out,

Smith was chosen president of the council, and thus became the real governor of the settlement. He obtained food from the Indians; he had huts built for shelter; and he had grain planted. His rule was just, being based on the principle that those who did not work should not eat; but this style of government did not suit the colonists, and in 1609 Captain Smith returned to England, his departure being made necessary, as he said, by a severe accident which had befallen him. It is by no

Smith's
wise rule.

Returns to
England.



JAMESTOWN IN 1622.

After a cut in the "Scheeps-Tocht van Anthony Chester na Virginia gedaan in het jaar 1622,"
Leyden, 1707.

means certain that the accident was as severe as Smith reported. It may have been used by him as a pretext to escape from a trying and unprofitable position. While in Virginia Captain Smith explored Chesapeake Bay, and

when Pocahontas, the daughter of Powhatan, the chief, rushed up to her father and begged the life of the prisoner. As the Indian princess was only twelve years old when the incident is said to have occurred, and the account did not appear in the first edition of Smith's book, but was added while the heroine was in England, many modern students disbelieve the whole story. Pocahontas, however, was a real character; she married John Rolfe, an Englishman, visited England, and died there. Many Virginians are proud to trace their descent from this Indian woman.

after his return to England published a careful map of it.¹

Virginia.

10. Virginia Colony; Slaves. (1609-1619.)—The colony suffered much, and very nearly came to a melancholy end. In 1609 the company received a new charter extending the limits north and south, and from sea to sea, west and northwest. In these charters was the provision that the colonists and their children "shall have and enjoy all the liberties, franchises, and immunities of free denizens and natural subjects within any of our other dominions, to all intents and purposes as if they had been abiding and born within this our realm of England, or in any other of our dominions." It was largely upon this clause, and similar ones repeated in later charters, that the American colonists rightly based their complaints of unjust treatment by the mother country.

Representative government, 1619.

The Virginia colonists, who had been granted a government partly representative, elected (1619) a House of Burgesses, the first representative body that met in America, with power to make laws. The same year in which this step toward free government was taken, a Dutch ship brought to the colony the first cargo of negro slaves.

Negro slaves, 1619.

11. Dutch Colonies; New Netherland. (1609-1626.)—Swedish Colonies. (1638.)—Holland was at this time a strong naval power; in 1609 Henry Hudson, an Englishman in her service, discovered and sailed up the river which bears his name. He also explored the New Jersey coast to Delaware Bay. A small trading post was established in 1613 on Manhattan Island, and another post in 1614, at Fort Nassau or Orange, near the present city of Albany. In 1621 the Dutch West India Company was organized;

Henry Hudson, 1609.

¹ This map is almost too accurate a one to have been made with the rude instruments and inefficient means at Smith's command.

under its auspices Fort Amsterdam, afterward the city of New York, was established in 1626. The island of Manhattan, upon which it stood, was purchased of the Indians the same year for about twenty-four dollars. The Dutch called their colony New Netherland. They bought the land from the natives, whom they generally treated well. Owing, however, to the obstinacy and want of tact of Governor Kieft, there was a terrible war with the Algonkin Indians (1643-1645). Fortunately for the Dutch, the Iroquois remained peaceful.

Fort Amsterdam,
1626.

New
Netherland.

Sweden, which had become a great power under Gustavus Adolphus, determined to send out colonists, though she had no possible claim to any land in the new world. In 1638 she established a settlement at Christina, near the site of Wilmington, Delaware. Other settlements were made later along the Delaware River as far as the site of Philadelphia, where the "Old Swedes' Church" still tells of their former presence. Thrust in as they were between the Dutch and the English settlements, the Swedish colonies had but little success. Before long they came in contact with the Dutch, who conquered them, and the Swedish rule came to an end.

Swedish
colonies.

12. Plymouth Company. (1607.)—The Plymouth Company had attempted to place a colony near the mouth of the Kennebec River in 1607, but the attempt, like so many others, was a failure. In 1620 a new company, under the name of "The Council of Plymouth for the governing of New England," was organized, and to this company was granted the land between the parallels of 40° and 48° north latitude, and westward "to the south seas"; the company, however, sent out no expedition on its own account.

Plymouth
Company.

Captain John Smith (sect. 9), who had remained quietly in England since his return from Virginia, left England

Captain
John Smith
names New
England.

again in the year 1614, and sailed along the Atlantic coast from the mouth of the Penobscot River to Cape Cod in search of fish and furs.

A DESCRIPTION of *New England*:

OR

THE OBSERVATIONS, AND
discoueries, of Captain *John Smith* (Admirall
of that Country) in the North of *America*, in the year
of our Lord 1614: with the successe of sixe Ships,
that went the next yeare 1615; and the
accidents befall him among the
French men of warre:

With the prooffe of the present benefit this
Countrey affords: whither this present yeare,
1616, eight voluntary Ships are gone
to make further tryall.



At LONDON

Printed by *Humfrey Lownes*, for *Robert Clerke*; and
are to be sold at his house called the Lodge,
in Chancery lane, over against Lin-
colnes Inne. 1616.

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE TITLE-PAGE
OF THE BOOK WHICH JOHN SMITH
WROTE.

In the Boston Public Library.

and England was no exception to the rule. Some men and women who did not agree with the practices of the Church of England, had emigrated in 1608 to Holland to gain liberty of worship. These refugees found safety first at Amsterdam, and then at Leyden.

After a few years they found themselves becoming

He published an account of his voyage on his return, giving the name of New England to the country. Previously it had been called Norumbega.

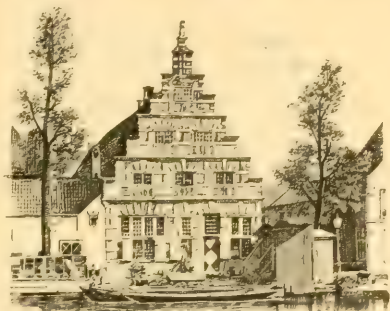
13. The Pilgrims.
(1620.) — It is an interesting and instructive fact that many of the early settlements within the limits of the present United States were made by men who sought in a new world that liberty to worship God in their own way which was denied them at home. Outward obedience to the rules of a state church was very generally exacted in the seventeenth century,

The Pil-
grims.

they go to
Holland,
1608.

more and more cut off from their friends in England. Though they kept up their English habits of life as much as possible, they continued to feel like foreigners in a strange land. They retained a warm love for their old home, its customs and its language. They could not bear to think that their children would grow up to intermarry with the Dutch and cease to be English;

The Pilgrims wish to continue Englishmen.



A HOUSE IN LEYDEN.

they wished for a land of their own. Those who felt these things most deeply, looked for some place where they could keep their religion, their customs, and their language, and where their children could grow up to be English men and English women.

No other country offered so many attractions to the refugees as did the English possessions in America. There they could find the freedom for which they longed, and in addition, the opportunity to carry the Gospel to the heathen Indians.

Decide to go to America.

After many delays their friends in England gained for them permission from the London Company (sect. 9) to make a settlement on what is now the coast of New Jersey. Some merchants were found who agreed, on very hard terms, to supply the money necessary to fit out the expedition. The king would not give them a charter, but he did not hinder their going. All arrangements having been completed, they prepared to leave Holland.

Leave Holland, 1620.

The *Speedwell*, the vessel bought and fitted out to carry

them to England could not accommodate all who wished to go. Many of them, however, left Delft-haven, Holland, July 22, 1620. At Southampton, England, they were joined by the *Mayflower*. Twice the little vessels started out, and twice were compelled to put back. The second time it was decided that the *Speedwell* was too unseaworthy to attempt the long voyage across the Atlantic.¹

Some of the Pilgrims now gave up the enterprise, but the others, one hundred and two in number, crowded into



THE "MAYFLOWER."

From the model in the National Museum at Washington.

the *Mayflower*, a vessel of one hundred and eighty tons. These Pilgrims, as they are rightly called, finally, on September 6, 1620, set sail from Plymouth, the port to which they had put back.

The voyage was a stormy one of sixty-three days; they were driven from their course and reached Cape Cod instead of the coast

for which they had steered. Weary of buffeting with the sea, they decided to go no farther.

As the land they had come to was not under the control of the London Company, it seemed wise to make some rules for preserving order in the colony. While, therefore, the little ship was lying in Provincetown harbor, there was drawn up in its cabin the celebrated "Mayflower Compact," which was signed by all the men, forty-one in

¹ It was not known till afterward that the *Speedwell* was not really unseaworthy; the Pilgrims were deceived by the master and crew, who took this method to escape from what they considered a bad bargain.

The
Mayflower,
1620.

Pilgrims
reach Cape
Cod.

Mayflower
Compact.

number. In it they agreed to unite themselves into a "body politic," and to submit to such "just and equal laws" as might be framed for the general good of the colony. Then they chose John Carver to be their first John Carver. governor.

*In y^e name of god Amen. We whose names are underwritten
the loyal subjects of our dread soueraigne Lord King James
by y^e graco of god, of great Britaine, franc, & Ireland king
defondor of y^e faith, &c*

*Haueing undertaken, for y^e glorio of god, and aduancem^{ts}
of y^e christian ^{faith} and honour of our king & countrie, a voyagd to
plant y^e first Colonie in y^e Northern parts of Virginia. God
by these presents solemnly & mutually in y^e presence of god, and
one of another, Couenant, & combine our selues together into a
Ciuill body politicke; for ^{our} better ordering, & preservation & fur-
therance of y^e ends aforesaid; and by vertue hereof to enacte,
constitute, and frame such just & equall lawes, ordinances,
acts, constitutions, & offices, from time to time, as shall be thought
most meete & conuenient for y^e generall good of y^e Colonie: vnto
which we promise all due submission and obedience. In witness
whereof we haue hereunder subscribed our names at Cap-
Codd y^e 11 of Nouember, in y^e year of y^e raigne of our soueraigne
Lord king James of England, franc, & Ireland y^e eighteenth
and of Scotland y^e fifth & fourth. An^o. Dom. 1620.*

The
Mayflower
Compact.

THE COMPACT DRAWN UP ON BOARD THE "MAYFLOWER."

A facsimile from the "History of Plimoth Plantation," by Governor Bradford.

In the State House, Boston, Mass.

14. Landing of the Pilgrims; Trials of the Colonists. Landing of
(1620-1627.)—The Pilgrims remained about a month at the Pilgrims,
Cape Cod, in Provincetown harbor, during which time some 1620.
of their number explored the neighboring shores, seeking
a place for their future home. They chose the spot called
Plymouth by Captain John Smith (sect. 12). They landed
on a large rock, since called Plymouth Rock, December

21, 1620, and this date is regarded as the beginning of the settlement.¹

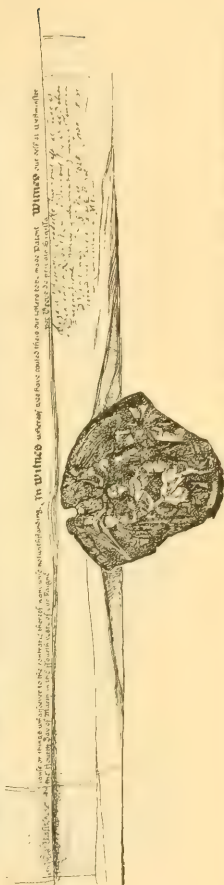
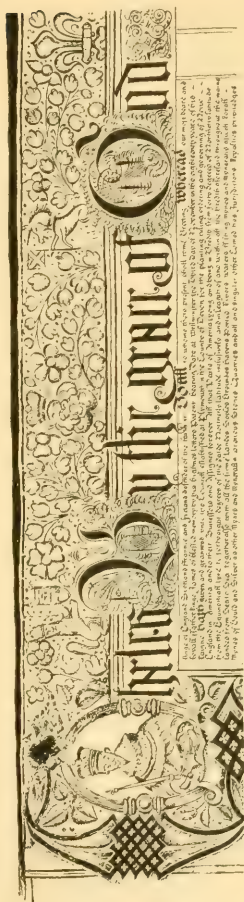
The colonists had a desperate struggle during the winter. They suffered from ill health, and afterward were at great disadvantage from the poverty of the soil, and from the payment of an exorbitant rate of interest to the English merchants who had furnished the means for establishing the colony. In spite of all these hardships the little band of settlers persevered. Unlike the colonists in Virginia, these Pilgrims had come to make their home in the new world, and their privations were borne with heroic courage. Among the company was Captain Myles Standish. He was not a member of their religious communion, and his presence shows the freedom which the Pilgrims allowed in religious matters. Myles Standish was of the greatest assistance to the little band, particularly during the first trying winter, when half the company died from disease and exposure. John Carver, the governor, was one of those who thus perished. William Bradford was chosen to succeed him, and he filled the office so acceptably that he was reëlected annually for thirty years, except when by "importunity he got off." In 1627 the colonists bought out the interest of the English merchants, and the colony was freed from a heavy burden.

15. Massachusetts Bay Colony. (1629.)—In 1629 a charter was given to "the Governor and Company of the Massachusetts Bay in New England," granting them land

¹ Owing to a miscalculation, the 22d has been usually celebrated as the anniversary of the landing, but it is clear that the day was December the 11th, old style; and as in the seventeenth century there was a difference of ten days between the old and new mode of reckoning, the 21st is the correct date according to the new style.

[illegible]

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF PART OF THE CHARTER OF THE FIRST PERMANENT COLONY IN THE TERRITORY OF THE MASSACHUSETTS COMPANY.



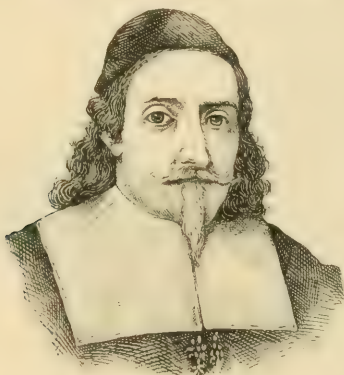
REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE HEADING, SIGNATURE, AND SEAL OF THE MASSACHUSETTS
CHARTER OF 1023-1029.

from three miles south of the Charles River to three miles north of the Merrimac River and extending east and west from the Atlantic to the South Sea (the Pacific Ocean).

Massachusetts, like the other colonies, had many disputes in regard to territory and boundaries. Some of these differences were of long standing; one with New York was not settled until 1855.

Settlement
of Massa-
chusetts.

John Endi-
cott.



JOHN ENDICOTT.

A small settlement of Puritans was begun in 1623 on Cape Ann, Massachusetts. It was not successful, and, in 1626, fourteen or fifteen of the colonists moved to Naumkeag, the site of the present town of Salem. To this place John Endicott, with about one hundred emigrants, came in 1628. The name was now changed to Salem,¹ in expectation of the peace which he trusted would be the lot of the colonists.

John Endicott was a typical Puritan, "a fit instrument to begin this wilderness-work, of courage bold, undaunted, yet sociable and of a cheerful spirit, loving and austere, applying himself to either as occasion served."

(Charter
taken to
America.

16. Peculiarities of the Massachusetts Colony. (1629-1640.)—In 1629 five vessels, among which was the *Mayflower*, brought a large number of colonists. In the same year the charter itself was carried to the colony.² This action gave the colonists self-rule. Heretofore, they had been, in name, if not in reality, ruled by men in England.³

¹ Salem is a Bible name, and means peace.

² The legal right of the Massachusetts Bay Company to transfer the charter has often been questioned. It is evident that the grantors had not thought of such transference.

³ The Plymouth colony with its Mayflower Compact was an exception, but the colony was so small as to attract little attention.

The number of colonists rapidly increased, and by 1640 twenty thousand had sought homes in the new colony of Massachusetts Bay. There were important differences between this colony and others. (1) It was undertaken by men of position and means, on their own account, and in their own person. (2) Though in name a commercial enterprise, it was really an attempt to found a commonwealth by those who wished "to work out their own ideas of Church and State." (3) Those who took part were not, at first, separatists from the Church of England, like the Pilgrims, but were Puritans who desired a reformation within the church. (4) The Puritans of Massachusetts Bay persecuted others, while the Pilgrims, at least during the earliest years of the Plymouth colony, did not.

Peculiarities
of the Mas-
sachusetts
Bay colony.

17. Growth of Political Freedom in Massachusetts. (1629-1670.)—John Winthrop was chosen governor before the charter was taken to the colony, and he held the office for four years and was several times reelected.

John Win-
throp.

He was a man of property, well educated, possessed great natural ability and above all had a noble character. He was the real founder of Massachusetts Bay Colony, and until his death was its most prominent and influential citizen. The colonists had almost entire control of their own affairs. For some time the governor, the deputy governor, and the council (called the "Assistants") met with the freemen to make the



JOHN WINTHROP.

After the original in the Massachusetts
Senate Chamber.

House of
Representatives es-
tablished.

laws, and decide upon all public matters. As the number of freemen increased, such an arrangement became inconvenient, and to meet this difficulty nearly all the power was given to the governor and council. It was not long, however, before the people of one of the townships rebelled against a tax levied upon them, and the result of their protest was that a House of Representatives was established to meet with the governor and council. To this body each township sent two representatives. The colonists thus early objected to "taxation without representation."

Gradually it came about that the representatives sat apart from the governor and the council, and a legislature with two houses grew up.

Puritan
laws.

The colony was carried on in many respects more after the Hebrew laws of the Old Testament than after English laws. Church and State were closely united; indeed in the early colonial days they were considered as one. Whenever they had occasion to come together, the freemen met in the church building or "meeting-house." The ministers were magistrates, and only church members were allowed to have a voice in the government; for forty



MEETING-HOUSE AT HINGHAM, MASS.
ERECTED IN 1681.

From Winsor's "Narrative and Critical History."

years perhaps three-fourths of the men had no vote.

18. Puritans; Roger Williams. (1635.)—It has often

been said that the Puritans came to the wilderness of America to establish civil and religious liberty; but such was not the case. They had no idea of founding a colony where different forms of worship could exist side by side; they believed that all men in religious matters should think and act in the same way; this was called "uniformity." Like most men of the age in which they lived, they did not believe in religious toleration; in this they differed from the Pilgrims.

Uniformity.

Very soon after the beginning of the settlement the question of toleration had to be determined. In 1631 a young man about twenty-four years of age, a minister whose name was Roger Williams, came to the colony. At once he caused much trouble, for he did not hesitate to express his views, which were far too liberal for the authorities. He believed that the civil power should have no control over a man's conscience, and that no one should be forced to support public worship. For these and other liberal opinions in 1635 he was sentenced to be banished. Intending to settle on the shores of Narragansett Bay, he was getting ready to go thither with some friends, when he heard of a plot to seize him and send him to England. At once, though it was the depth of winter, he fled into the wilderness to Massasoit, an Indian chief, at Sowams (Warren, Rhode Island), near which place he remained for a number of weeks, "not knowing what bread or bed did mean."

Roger
Williams.Banished,
1635.

19. Founding of Providence and Rhode Island. (1636–1644.)—In June, 1636, he chose a place which he called Providence, at the head of Narragansett Bay, for a new settlement. He secured from the Indians by gift or purchase, a large tract of land, which in course of time he sold or gave away to settlers. It must be said that how-

Roger Will-
iams founds
Providence.

ever excellent were the views of Roger Williams in regard to religious toleration, on political matters they were such as to strike at the very root of government as then understood, and it was not unnatural that he should be looked upon as a dangerous person.¹

Roger Williams made his refuge "a shelter for persons distressed for conscience," and it was not long before many such came to him, among them Anne Hutchinson. She was a very able woman; she upheld the right of women to preach and to take part in the church government; she also taught other opinions much in opposition to Puritan doctrines. After a trial in which she ably defended herself, she was in 1638 banished from Massachusetts.

In 1638 Portsmouth, and in 1639 Newport, both on the island of Rhode Island, were settled by Anne Hutchinson and other refugees from Massachusetts.² At first these colonies were independent and governed themselves; but Roger Williams went to England and succeeded in getting a patent from Parliament in 1644, under which all the colonies in what is now the state of Rhode Island were united under the name of "The Incorporation of Providence Plantations in the Narragansett Bay in New-England." On the restoration of Charles II. to the English throne, it was found necessary to procure a new charter, which was granted by the king, in 1663.³ This charter was so liberal that it was continued in force until 1843⁴ (sect. 251).

¹ Roger Williams, in his views regarding religious and political liberty, was so far in advance of most of his contemporaries, that few could understand him.

² Anne Hutchinson removed later to Manhattan Island, and was murdered in an Indian attack during the war of 1643-1645; see sect. II.

³ In this charter the title Rhode Island and Providence Plantations is used.

⁴ The new constitution was ratified by popular vote in 1842, and went into operation May 1, 1843.

Anne
Hutchinson
and her
views.

Rhode
Island
charter.

In this colony alone was perfect religious liberty allowed ; "Papists, Protestants, Jews, or Turks" were alike protected in their religion. This great liberty attracted many who wished to be free from restraint, and there was often trouble in the colony from such persons.

20. Settlement of Boston ; Connecticut. (1630-1638.)

—Salem did not please all the colonists, and therefore parties of men were sent out to choose sites for new towns. In this way, during the year 1630, Medford, Roxbury, Watertown, and Dorchester were settled. In the same year John Winthrop and others chose a peninsula opposite Charlestown, named by the Indians Shawmut, but by the English Tri-mountain or Tremont, from its three hills. Soon after the name of this place was changed to Boston from the town in Lincolnshire, England, which had been the home of some of the settlers.

Settlement
of Boston,
1630.

In 1635 and 1636 parties left the old settlements and going out into the wilderness founded Wethersfield, Hartford, and Windsor, on the Connecticut River. These settlers in 1637 took the rule into their own hands, and in 1638 (old style) formed a written constitution for themselves. This was the first written constitution in America, and one of the first in history. No higher power than the people themselves was acknowledged, and all men were to be freemen who should take the oath of allegiance. No one except the governor was required to be a church member. This agreement is known as "The Fundamental Orders of Connecticut." A charter was obtained from Charles II. in 1662 ; it was so liberal that though Connecticut became a state, no state constitution was adopted till 1818.

Connecticut
towns,
1635-1637.

"The Fun-
damental
Orders."

Quinnipiack, afterward New Haven, was founded in 1638, by Londoners, who distrusted the colonists in Mas-

sachusetts. Other colonies were elsewhere founded from time to time, until in 1664 all these settlements were united under the name of Connecticut.

21. Maine; New Hampshire; Vermont. (1627-1677.)—

Maine.

Maine, including what is now New Hampshire, was part of the territory of the Plymouth Company (sects. 9, 12), which had made several attempts to colonize it. But the Pemaquid colony, established in 1627 at the mouth of the Kennebec River, was the only one that proved successful.

New Hampshire.

Before resigning their charter to the British crown in 1635, the members of the company divided the unsettled country among themselves. Sir Ferdinando Gorges obtained most of what is now Maine; Captain John Mason received as his part the land west of the Piscataqua River. This tract he called, after his own county in England, New Hampshire. Neither Gorges nor Mason had much to do with these lands, and the settlers to a great extent ruled themselves.

Vermont.

New Hampshire, though several times attached to Massachusetts, became finally separated from it in 1741. In 1652, and again in 1658, the settlers in Maine submitted themselves to Massachusetts; in 1677 Massachusetts bought all Gorges' rights in the province. Vermont was claimed by both New York and New Hampshire, and the question of ownership remained a matter of dispute until Vermont became a state in 1791.

Charters surrendered.

22. Lord Baltimore; Maryland. (1632.)—The Plymouth Company surrendered its charter in 1635. The London Company had already given up its charter in 1624, so according to the practice of that day all the territory of the two companies came into the hands of the king, who could do with it as he wished. In 1632 Charles I. granted to Sir George Calvert, Lord Baltimore, lands east of the

Potomac River, including both sides of Chesapeake Bay.¹ This tract, to which the name Maryland was given, in honor of the English queen, Henrietta Maria, was within the bounds of the original London Company's grant, and Virginia had already taken steps to colonize parts of it. Before the written agreement was perfected Lord Baltimore died, but the patent was given to his son Cecilius Calvert, who succeeded to the title of Lord Baltimore. The Calverts were Roman Catholics.

Lord
Baltimore,
1632.



Maryland.

CECILIUS CALVERT, LORD BALTIMORE.

After a portrait in the British Public
Record office.

The grant was a liberal one, nothing but allegiance to the crown, the yearly tribute of two Indian arrows, and one-fifth part of all the gold and silver mined, being required. Baltimore was given the powers of a Palatine, which were almost those of a king.² His title was Proprietary, and he was really a monarch, though subordinate to the king. The freemen were to possess the rights of native-

Lord Balti-
more.

¹ The boundaries of the grant were described very carefully for that time, being, the Potomac from its source to its mouth, thence across Chesapeake Bay to Watkins Point, thence to the ocean, which with Delaware Bay was the eastern boundary. The northern boundary was the fortieth parallel of north latitude to the meridian of the south fountain of the Potomac. It will be seen that these boundaries include the state of Delaware and a considerable part of Pennsylvania.

² The charter was modelled on the Palatinate system as then existing in the county of Durham, England, which had been established by William the Conqueror.

Religious
toleration.

born Englishmen; they were to have a share in making the laws; and there was to be freedom of trade. Lord Baltimore proclaimed religious toleration for Protestants and Catholics. In this respect Maryland and Rhode Island stand alone in the early annals of the country; Maryland, however, required a belief in Jesus Christ, while Rhode Island made no stipulation.

Nothing definite is said about toleration in the charter, but it "must have been understood that the adherents of both religions were to be welcome." Unless this was so there is no probability that the charter would have been granted, or that any great number of emigrants would have gone out. Contrary to a very common impression, it seems that Roman Catholics were always in a minority in the colony, even from the very first. In 1676 the proprietary himself said that more than three-fourths of the inhabitants were Protestants.

The *Ark* and
the *Dove*,
1633.

23. Maryland continued; Toleration Act; Troubles. (1633-1692.)—In 1633 Leonard Calvert, a younger brother of the proprietary, sailed for Maryland, taking with him about two hundred emigrants in two small vessels named the *Ark* and the *Dove*. He bought from the Indians a small village near the mouth of the Potomac, and there founded, March, 1634, the town of St. Mary's. Before issuing the patent to Baltimore, the king had given a license for trading, and also the ownership of the land on the Chesapeake Bay, to a settler, William Clayborne, who refused to acknowledge the proprietary and gave the colonists much annoyance. It was an instance of conflicting claims which were very common in the early history of America.

St. Mary's,
1634.

The Maryland Assembly passed in 1649 the "Toleration Act," which was confirmed in the following year by the

proprietary. It is among the first legislative acts in favor of anything like toleration. It was notable for its day and worthy of great praise. It did not, however, grant perfect toleration, for severe penalties were prescribed against all persons denying the divinity of Christ, or using reproachful words against the Virgin Mary or the Apostles.¹ Toleration had been practised in the colony, but this act changed what seems to have been a custom into a law.

Toleration
Act of 1649.

The colony had little trouble from the Indians except when they were stirred up by the white men, and Maryland prospered greatly and increased rapidly in population. The liberal policy of the proprietary attracted settlers, and he himself invited men from all quarters, even Puritans from England.

The newcomers had not the same spirit of toleration ; as soon as they and their sympathizers were in the majority, they made Maryland an Episcopal colony, disfranchised the Roman Catholics, and the Quakers, and taxed every one to support the Church of England, which was made the established church in 1692.

Intolerance
in Mary-
land.

Lord Baltimore took the side of King James in the English revolution of 1688, and lost his province in consequence. Maryland became a royal colony, and the king appointed her governors until 1715. At this time the nominal proprietary having become Protestant, the colony was restored to the Baltimore family, and remained a proprietary colony until the Revolution.

Maryland a
royal colony
in 1688.

24. Virginia becomes a Royal Colony. (1624.) — The adoption of a House of Burgesses in Virginia (sect. 10) was approved by the company in England, and in 1621 a written constitution was sent out confirming the privileges

Virginia.

¹ It does not appear that punishment was ever inflicted for such offences.

granted in 1619. In 1624 the charter of the company was annulled by the crown, and Virginia became a royal province. The king now appointed the governor and Council, but the Assembly still made the laws, subject to the veto of the governor.

Tobacco,

The staple crop of the province was tobacco, of which large quantities were raised and exported. The number of navigable streams rendered export easy, for the vessels could come up to the plantations and load directly for England. Tobacco was also the principal article of trade, so much so, indeed, that it was used in place of money both in keeping accounts and in purchasing.

Virginia an
Episcopal
colony.

Virginia was always a Church of England, or Episcopal, colony; this was the established church, and all persons were taxed for its support. It was also a very loyal colony, and sided with the king in the civil war, but made no resistance when Parliament was in control.

25. Virginia; Bacon's Rebellion. (1676.)—When Charles II. came to the throne, he ungratefully allowed the governors to rule the Virginians harshly. The English navigation laws (sect. 55) were greatly to the disadvantage of the colonists. Troubles arose with the Indians; the colonists blamed the government for not protecting them, and in 1676 some of them, under the lead of Nathaniel Bacon rebelled, and raised forces to go against the Indians.

Bacon's
Rebellion.

Bacon was a member of the celebrated English family of that name, and was a rich, brave, patriotic, and popular man. Berkeley, the governor, at first yielded so far as to give Bacon a commission to lead a force against the Indians, but when Bacon had gone, proclaimed him and his companions rebels. On Bacon's return, there was civil war between the parties, in the course of which Berkeley was driven out of Jamestown, the capital, and the place

burnt. Worn out by the fatigues of his campaigns, Bacon died after a short illness, and the rebellion was at an end.

The governor hanged twenty-three of the principal rebels. On hearing this, Charles II. is said to have remarked, "The old fool has taken away more lives in that naked country than I did for the murder of my father." Though the rebellion had been a failure, it showed the character of the people and what might be expected if harsh measures were followed. Jamestown was not rebuilt; Williamsburg became the capital.

Williams-
burg.

26. Virginia; Growth and Prosperity of the Colony. (1676-1715.)—Soon after Bacon's Rebellion, peace was made with the Indians, and there was no more trouble with them. Virginia remained a royal colony until the Revolution.

The manner of life was very different in Virginia from that in the more northern and eastern colonies. The land was fertile and was divided into large plantations; and while there was not so much wealth as in New England, there were more rich men, and into their hands most of the political power had fallen.



A SOUTHERN HOMESTEAD.

There were fewer towns, as there was not much danger of Indian attacks. The planters imported goods from England in return for their tobacco, and there was little attempt at manufacturing. The planter supplied his poorer neighbors, who were thus almost continually in his debt and in his power.

Southern
life.

Notwithstanding harsh legislation, Virginia prospered greatly and the population increased. In 1670 Berkeley estimated the population at forty thousand, including two

thousand negro slaves and six thousand indentured white servants.

Indentured
servants.

Indentured servants in the American colonies were of at least four classes: (1) Those who, for the sake of emigrating to the new country, had bound themselves for a certain number of years to those who paid their passage money. (2) Those who when boys and girls had been bound to service until they became of age. (3) Persons of all ages who had been kidnapped and brought over and sold to the planters. (4) Convicts who had been sent to the colonies to rid England of their presence. More convicts were sent to Virginia than to any other colony; not a few of them, removed from evil associations, became excellent citizens. In 1715 the total population was thought to be about 95,000.

Population.

27. The Carolinas. (1663-1665.)—In 1663, and again in 1665, Charles II. granted the territory now occupied by the Carolinas and Georgia to eight proprietors, most of whom had helped him to regain the crown of England. As usual, little regard was paid to the boundaries, or to previous claims; the gift included settlements which had been made by the Virginians, and which by right belonged to that province. This grant extended west to the Pacific Ocean and south into Florida, thus conflicting with both French and Spanish claims.

The Caro-
linas.

When the French had attempted to plant a colony at Port Royal (sect. 8), they had named one of their forts Carolina in honor of Charles IX. of France; the proprietors used this name for their colony, but in honor of Charles of England.

28. The Carolinas; John Locke; John Archdale. (1669-1696.)—It was resolved to provide a model government for the Carolinas, and an elaborate scheme for the new

enterprise was drawn up. The philosopher John Locke John Locke. was consulted, but his share in the document is not known; his published views on government make it unlikely that he was responsible for many of the political features.

The scheme provided for a nobility having different ranks, — proprietors, landgraves, caciques, and lords of manors. While the nobility were to own lands according to their rank, other persons were not to own any; they were to be in a position somewhat like the old Russian serfs; they were not to move from the land upon which they lived without the consent of the owner, and they were to have no voice in the government. The plan was complex and could not be carried out. The immediate effect was almost to destroy what little government there was in the colony, particularly in the northern part, and make it the most turbulent and lawless of all the American settlements. The attempt to carry out this “model” government The “model” government. was given up in 1693.

The proprietors in 1695 sent out John Archdale, a Friend, John Archdale. or Quaker, as governor. Under his wise administration order was restored. He lowered the quit-rents, paid the proprietors, and pursued a peaceful policy toward the Indians and the Spaniards. He appointed a council satisfactory to the colonists, and allowed them to choose representatives to the Assembly. The result was “prosperity, and, for a time, peace to the colony.” In 1696 the representatives in South Carolina declared that Archdale, by “his wisdom, patience, and labor, had laid a firm foundation for a most glorious superstruction.” After a short time Archdale went back to England, and before long the old state of disorder had returned.

29. North Carolina. (1663.) — The first settlers of the

North Carolina.

colony of North Carolina were from Virginia : others came from New England, and later, from the other northern colonies, from Scotland, from the north of Ireland, and from Switzerland. "The population was much more scattered than elsewhere, schools were few, and the advance of the North Carolinians was on lines of independence and sturdy courage rather than of refinement and elegance."

South Carolina.

30. South Carolina; the Carolinas become Royal Colonies. (1670 1720.) — In 1670 the proprietors sent out a colony to settle within the bounds of South Carolina. At first a position at a distance from the sea was chosen. After ten years' trial the whole settlement was moved to the junction of the Ashley and Cooper rivers, where the city of Charleston now is. These rivers were named after one of the proprietors, the Earl of Shaftesbury, whose name was **Anthony Ashley Cooper**.

Charleston

The number of settlers was increased by emigrants from North Carolina, and from New York. There came from France a large number of French Protestants or Huguenots who had left their homes on account of the persecution following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes. These Huguenots formed a valuable part of the population, though for a time they were not allowed all the rights of the other colonists.

Products of the Carolinas

The chief products of South Carolina were rice and indigo: the former was introduced from the East Indies before 1693, and the latter about 1741. These two crops were the chief staple products until the invention of the cotton gin gave cotton the first place. In North Carolina, tar, pitch, turpentine, and lumber were the staple products.

The proprietors had gained little profit from their grant. In 1710 there was a rebellion against them in South Carolina, and the colonists, on appealing to the king, were

given a royal governor. Carolina was found to be too large to be governed as one colony, so two Assemblies were chosen, and there were sometimes two governors and sometimes one. In 1729 the proprietors sold all their rights to the crown; the Carolinas became royal colonies and were permanently divided into North and South Carolina.¹

The Carolinas divided.

31. The Dutch and New Netherland; Disputes with English Colonies. (1626-1664.)—The Dutch West India Company governed New Netherland (sect. 11) from 1626



NEW AMSTERDAM IN 1656.

From Van der Donck's map of New Netherland, 1656.

to 1664, but the settlements were regarded as trading posts rather than colonies. The Dutch do not appear to have seen the great value for commerce of the Hudson River and New York Bay. Their settlements were few and grew slowly. Meanwhile the English colonies to the north and south, increasing rapidly in wealth and population, were divided by the Dutch possessions as by a wedge. This was both unpleasant and dangerous to the English.

The Dutch.

There was much trouble between the colonists of Connecticut and the Dutch regarding territory, not only on the mainland, but also on Long Island, which had been settled from Connecticut. The English held that the whole

¹ The exact date of permanent separation is disputed. Some put it at 1712.

coast from Maine to Florida belonged to them by virtue of the Cabots' discovery (sect. 5). By virtue of this claim, in 1664 Charles II. granted the territory held by



THE STEADHUY, NEW YORK.

After Brevoort's drawing.

the Dutch, as well as Pemaquid (nearly what is now the state of Maine), Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and all Long Island, to the Duke of York, his brother, afterward James II. To the Duke of York absolute

Grants to
the Duke
of York,
1664.

dominion over this great territory was given, the only condition being that there should be no laws made for that region which would conflict with those of England. The importance of this grant lay in the fact that the Duke of York was the heir to the throne and at the death of Charles II. these lands would become crown property.

The English
take New
Amsterdam.

32. Capture of New Amsterdam by English; New York. (1664.)—The duke sent out the same year a strong force, which, appearing before New Amsterdam, found that town wholly unprepared for defence; the governor, Peter Stuyvesant, at first refused to surrender, but he soon saw that resistance was hopeless, and submitted. Richard Nicolls, who commanded the fleet, immediately proclaimed the Duke of York ruler, and ordered that the city should henceforth be called New York. Fortunately most of the Dutch quietly accepted the change of rulers. The transfer of authority was made without bloodshed. The conquest of the rest of New Netherland soon followed, and so the whole province was lost to the Dutch. Nicolls, whom the duke had appointed governor, was a skilful,

New
Netherland
becomes
New York.

shrewd man, and managed affairs well. Though the government was a despotism, it was a mild one; old laws and customs were not rudely overturned, and the Dutch colonists had little cause for complaint.

33. Recapture of New York by Dutch; Restored to English. Leisler. (1673-1691.)—Holland did not find an opportunity for revenge until 1673. In that year a fleet appeared off New York and found the city as unprepared as Nicolls had found it nine years before. It was reconquered without a blow, and the province came again under Dutch rule. Peace was made in 1674, and William of Orange, the stadtholder of Holland, seeing the difficulty of retaining New York, consented to return it to England. It remained under English rule until the Revolution.

The later English governors too often treated the people harshly. In fact, New York had much less freedom than other colonies, not having an Assembly until 1683, and even this privilege was taken away for a short time. There were continual troubles with Connecticut about boundaries, with



Dutch
recapture
New York.

PETER STUYVESANT.

After the portrait in the possession of the New York Historical Society

PETER STUYVESANT was born in Holland about 1602. He served in the wars in the West Indies and lost a leg in battle. He was governor of Curacao when about thirty-two. In 1646 he was appointed governor of New Netherland. His rule, which began in 1647, was the most successful of all the Dutch governors. He was skilful in his treatment of the natives, and in his negotiations with the English colonists. He was abrupt in his manner, hot-headed, and easily made angry. He was full of courage, honest, and faithful. After the people knew him he was respected and liked. He had a wooden leg ornamented with silver bands, and wore handsome clothes. After surrendering to the English, he went to Holland to explain his action, and then returned to New Netherland, where he lived peacefully, cultivating his "bowery," or farm, for nearly twenty years. He died in 1682, and the well-known New York street, the Bowery, preserves the memory of his farm.

New York
English
again.

East Jersey about duties on produce, and with the Indians. In 1680 the people rose against the governor.

Jacob
Leisler.

Their leader, Jacob Leisler, a captain of the guards, assumed the governor's place; but a new governor, appointed by the crown, came out in 1690. Leisler was arrested, tried, and convicted of treason. He was hanged, the governor, it is said, having signed the death warrant while under the influence of liquor. Leisler's true character has been the subject of much dispute,



JACOB LEISLER'S HOUSE.

some regarding him as a patriot, others as an adventurer, whose chief object was to get power for himself, and whose rule was at least as bad as that of the English governors.

Patroons.

34. The Patroons in New York. (1629.)—The Dutch had encouraged emigration by making large grants of land to patroons, a kind of nobility, who let out their lands at low rents to settlers. The English did not alter this system, and it was not until about 1844 that the last remnant of it disappeared (sect. 251).

Education.

In the Dutch charter providing for the patroons (1629), it was stated that "the Patroons and colonists were to support a minister and schoolmaster, that thus the service of God and zeal for religion may not grow cold and neglected among them." Thus the Dutch were among the very first in America to recognize that religion and education are the foundation of good government.

Notwithstanding its unrivalled position, New York grew slowly. When Stuyvesant surrendered to the English in

1664, the population of that city was only about 1500, while its northern limit was a wall running from river to river, where Wall Street now is.



THE OLD WALL, NEW YORK. BUILT IN 1623.
From "Wall Street in History," by Mrs. Martha J. Lamb.

35. New Jersey Charter. (1664.) -- The Swedes, who had New Jersey, 1664.
begun a settlement on the Delaware River (sect. 11), were conquered by the Dutch in 1655. The whole of what is now New Jersey, and also the west bank of the Delaware River and Bay came under Dutch rule. When Charles II., in 1664, made his grant to the Duke of York, all the Dutch and Swedish settlements were included. The same year the duke granted what is now New Jersey to Lord John Berkeley and Sir George Carteret, as proprietors. In the patent the name was fixed as New Caesaria or New Jersey. This name was given in honor of Sir George Carteret, who held the island of Jersey in the English Channel during the civil war in England.

The proprietors provided a very liberal system of government, and sent out a nephew of Carteret, Philip Carteret, as governor. The landing was made at a settlement which the governor named Elizabethtown, after the wife of Sir George Carteret. Much trouble was caused by settlers already in the region, and politically the lot of the pro-

prietors was not an easy one. The Indians, however, received pay for such of their lands as were taken, and, being fairly treated in other respects, did not harass the colony.

36. Growth of New Jersey; Division of the Colony. (1674.) West Jersey. (1674-1681.) — The new owners of the province wished to increase the number of settlers. They sent agents into New England to make known the liberal inducements or "concessions" held out to emigrants. Religious liberty was promised, and land was offered on easy terms.

Religious
liberty.

These agents were successful in their mission. Emigrants, hoping to better their condition, or dissatisfied with the severe rule of the Puritans, came from New Hampshire, from Massachusetts, from Connecticut, and from Long Island. Newark was founded in 1666 by Puritans from Connecticut.

New Jersey
divided.

In 1674 Berkeley sold his share, the western half of this province, to Edward Byllinge and John Fenwick, both members of the Society of Friends, or Quakers. The province was thus divided into two parts known as West and East Jersey. The boundary line was the subject of much dispute and was changed more than once. In 1676 a line drawn from Little Egg Harbor on the Atlantic coast, to a point not far from Minisink Island in the Delaware River, was agreed upon.

West Jersey.

John Fenwick went out with an expedition in 1675 and landed at a place which he called Salem. In 1677 William Penn and others of the same religious body bought Byllinge's share, and founded Burlington, which became the capital. A separate government was set up, and Edward Byllinge was chosen governor. He did not come out to the colony, but governed by a deputy. The plan of government was very liberal. The Assembly of the

colony met at Burlington in 1681 and drew up a document defining the rights of the people. Among these was liberty of conscience for all; and an assembly to be chosen by the people, which should make laws and lay all taxes, and which could not be adjourned or dissolved without its own consent.

37. Penn and Others buy East Jersey. (1681.) — In 1681 William Penn and eleven others bought East Jersey, which, after Sir George Carteret's death, was offered at auction to the highest bidder. These twelve owners soon sold one-half of their interest to twelve others. There was a strange mixture of religious and political beliefs represented in these twenty-four owners, — "Papists, Dissenters, and Quakers," Royalists, and Puritans. Notwithstanding this great diversity of opinion there seems to have been no discord. It is estimated that there were at this time about five thousand inhabitants in East Jersey, and the condition of the province was prosperous. Elizabethtown was at first the capital of East Jersey, but afterward Perth Amboy was chosen.



WILLIAM PENN.

At the age of 22. After the portrait attributed to Sir Peter Lely.

WILLIAM PENN was educated at Oxford, and also spent two years in study in France, where he became a good classical and French scholar. As his mother was a Dutch lady, it is likely that he could speak Dutch. He was a good sportsman and skilful in the manly sports of his day. We can imagine the rage of his father when Penn became a Quaker. He was a personal friend of the Duke of York, afterward King James II, and in consequence fell under suspicion in the revolution of 1688, when James lost his throne. Penn wrote many books, mostly relating to the doctrines of the Quakers. In 1694 he published a plan for international arbitration. He was born 1644 and died in 1718.

Presbyterian
influence in
East Jersey.

38. East Jersey; Presbyterian Influence; Becomes a Royal Colony. (1685-1702.)—The Presbyterians in Scotland during the reign of Charles II. suffered much from persecution. Their attention was called to East Jersey as a place of refuge; and in 1685 a large number of them emigrated to the new province. This laid the foundation of Presbyterian influence in New Jersey. The influence of the Puritans in East Jersey is shown by the severity of the laws for the punishment of crimes, as there were thirteen classes of offences punishable by death in that province, while in West Jersey capital punishment was not allowed.

Sir Edmund
Andros.

Sir Edmund Andros, who was appointed by James II. governor of all the English settlements north of "forty degrees of northern latitude" except Pennsylvania and Delaware, though claiming authority over the Jerseys, was content with having his authority acknowledged (see sect. 56). In 1702 the proprietors resigned all rights to the crown, and the provinces were united. The united province had its own legislature, but the same governors as New York, until 1738, when it was given a governor of its own.

The Jerseys
united.

William
Penn.

39. William Penn; Pennsylvania; Dispute with Lord Baltimore. (1681.)—William Penn, one of the owners of the Jerseys, born in 1644, was the son of Admiral Sir William Penn of the English navy. He had joined the Quakers much to the grief of his father, who for some time refused to be reconciled. When the admiral died, there was due him a large sum of money which he had loaned to the crown. In 1680 Penn proposed to Charles II. that in settlement of this debt of £16,000 a tract of land should be given him in America. The king was glad to pay the debt so easily. In 1681 a charter was given to Penn conveying to him as proprietor the land bounded by the fortieth and forty-third degrees of north latitude, and the

Penn ac-
quires Penn-
sylvania.

lands west of the Delaware River through five degrees of longitude, except a small portion which belonged to the colonies on the Delaware.

The boundaries were carefully named, but unfortunately the position of the fortieth degree of latitude was wrongly

Boundary disputes.



REDUCED FACSIMILE OF PART OF THE ROYAL DEED GIVEN TO PENN.

calculated, and there arose in consequence between Lord Baltimore and Penn, and between their successors, disputes as to the boundary. These differences were not settled until 1763, when two surveyors, Charles Mason and Jeremiah Dixon from England, established the present line which separates Maryland from Delaware and Pennsylvania. In later times this line was the dividing line between the free and the slave states, and was regarded as separating the North and the South.¹

Mason and Dixon's line.

40. Pennsylvania. (1681.)—The name of Pennsylvania was given by Charles II. in honor of Admiral Penn. Penn acquired from the Duke of York the lands on the Delaware Bay and River which had been granted to the duke in 1644 (sect. 31). This colony was known afterward as the “three lower counties on the Delaware.”

Pennsylvania.

Penn acquires Delaware.

¹ A careful review of the disputes between Penn and Lord Baltimore seems to show that Penn was in the right if the spirit of the grant be taken, while according to the letter of the grant Baltimore had grounds for protesting. At the same time Baltimore seems to have neglected to take the steps required in order to have an indisputable claim to the lands in question.

The purpose
of Penn.

Penn's chief purpose was to establish a colony where justice should rule and where there might be liberty of conscience, and, so far as practicable, political freedom and equality. He also wished it to be a refuge for the persecuted Quakers.

Charter.

The charter which Penn obtained was a liberal one. He had the right to govern, appoint officers, and with the consent of the people make necessary laws; these laws, however, within five years of their enactment, were to be submitted to the crown for approval. A pamphlet was published giving a short account of the country, of the terms of the charter, and of the conditions upon which land should be sold to settlers.

Penn's views of government were broad; in speaking of his plans he said, "I propose to leave myself and successors no power of doing mischief, — that the will of one man may not hinder the good of an whole country." "Because I have been exercised at times about the nature and end of government among men, it is reasonable to expect that I should endeavor to establish a just and righteous one in this province . . . for the nations want a precedent." "There may be room there, though not here, for such an holy experiment."

Penn's
"Frame of
Govern-
ment."

41. Penn's Frame of Government. (1682.) Penn's experience in the affairs of the East and West Jerseys had made him acquainted with many of the difficulties in colonial government. In the introduction to his "Frame of Government" are the following words: "I know what is said by the several admirers of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy, which are the rule of one, of a few, and of many, . . . But any government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame) where the laws rule and the people are a party to those laws; and more than this

Plan of
government.

is tyranny, oligarchy, or confusion. . . . Liberty without obedience is confusion, and obedience without liberty is slavery."

In his plan the governor was appointed by the proprietor, but the Assembly was elected by the people. All men who believed in Jesus Christ and had paid taxes or were freeholders had the right to vote. Liberty of conscience was granted to all, but "looseness, irreligion, and atheism" were to be discouraged. Penn's laws in regard to criminals were in advance of his time, for he held that to reform a criminal was more important than to punish him.

42. Penn sails for America; Treaty. (1682.) — Penn had sent his relative, William Markham, to represent him in the province, and did not go himself until 1682. Penn sailed with about one hundred emigrants, and landed October 29, 1682 (old style), at Uplandt, now Chester. He had sent by his deputy, the previous year, a letter to the Indians, assuring them of his good will and purpose to treat them justly. On one occasion he met some of the principal Indian chiefs at Shackamaxon, now in Philadelphia, and there held a friendly conference and made a treaty of peace and good will with them, — a treaty "not sworn to and never broken."

Penn goes to America, 1682.

His treatment of the Indians.

Penn allowed no land to be occupied until the title had been acquired justly from the Indians, and he provided that all differences should be settled by tribunals in which both races were represented. The result of this just policy was that the colonists gained the good will of the natives, and so long as the Friends were in control of the colony, peace and security reigned in the province.¹

¹ A belt of wampum said to have been given to Penn by the Indians at Shackamaxon is in the possession of the Pennsylvania Historical Society of Philadelphia. The exact date and terms of this famous treaty are disputed.

43. Founding of Philadelphia ; Penn returns to England ; Delaware. (1683-1718.)—In 1683 Penn laid out the city of Philadelphia.¹ The low price of land, the free government, the fertility of the soil, and the absence of persecution attracted many settlers, so that Pennsylvania became one of the most important colonies, growing more in five years than New York had grown in fifty. Colonists, attracted by the liberal terms, came in large numbers from England, Wales, Holland, and Germany.² Perhaps in no other colony was there a greater variety of nationalities and languages.

Penn returned to England in 1684, leaving his colony in a prosperous condition. In 1692 he was deprived of his province on account of suspected sympathy with the exiled James II., but it was soon restored to him. He visited it again in 1699. There was much trouble in regard to the rents of land and various other matters, and Penn had already made arrangements to sell his province to the crown, when he was stricken with paralysis and became incapable of transacting business. His sons inherited his province at his death in 1718. While the war of the Revolution was in progress the state of Pennsylvania purchased the interest of the proprietors for £139,000, and all quit-rents were abolished.

There was much jealousy of Pennsylvania among the colonists of "the lower counties on the Delaware," or "Territories" (sect. 40); after many efforts to remove this, Penn gave the "counties" a lieutenant-governor of their own. Under the brief royal rule they were reunited to Pennsylvania. Some years later, however, owing to fresh

¹ Philadelphia means Brotherly-love.

² The descriptive pamphlet (sect. 40) was translated into German and circulated in Germany, along the Rhine and the Neckar.

Rapid
growth of
Pennsyl-
vania.

Penn returns
to England.

Delaware.

difficulties, Penn provided for separate legislatures; and this arrangement went into effect in 1703. From that time, though having the same governor, the colonies were separate. Delaware State was declared to be the official name when a constitution was adopted in 1776.

44. Settlement of Georgia; Oglethorpe. (1733.)—Georgia was the latest settled of all the colonies, and differed from all the others in the manner of its settlement. General James Edward Oglethorpe was an Englishman whose heart had been touched by the suffering of the poor in England, particularly of those who had been imprisoned for debt. He wished to better their condition, and resolved to offer them a refuge in the new world, where they could make a fresh start in life. For this purpose he obtained, in 1732, a grant of the land lying between the Savannah and the Altamaha rivers and extending westward to the South Seas. The charter of the colony was to last for twenty-one years. The power

given to a board of trustees was almost absolute, the settlers themselves having little voice; there was to be religious freedom to all but Roman Catholics; slavery and the sale of rum were forbidden. In the fall of 1732, Oglethorpe



Oglethorpe.

JAMES EDWARD OGLETHORPE.

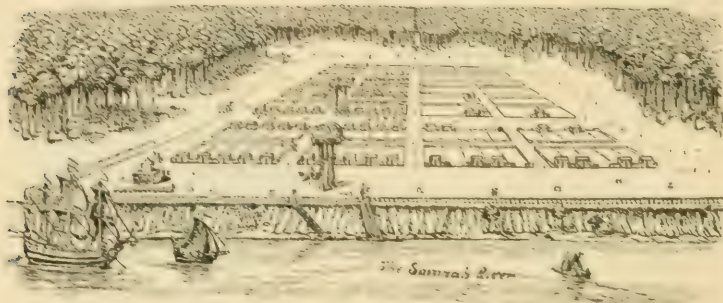
After the painting by Ravenet.

The exact date of the birth of General James Oglethorpe is disputed. The latest authorities say Dec. 22, 1696; others 1688, or even 1689. Nothing is known of his early life. He served in the army under the great English general, Marlborough, and was aide-de-camp to Prince Eugene at the siege of Belgrade. He was a friend of Dr. Johnson, Boswell, Burke, Goldsmith, and the Wesleys. He was a member of Parliament for thirty-two years. He resided in Georgia for ten years, leaving in 1743. He lived to see the independence of the United States. He died in 1785. He was the last of the founders of the thirteen colonies and one of the best.

Georgia and its settlement.

himself sailed with a company of emigrants and made a settlement (1733) on the site of the city of Savannah.

Notwithstanding the efforts of the founder, and of John and Charles Wesley and George Whitefield, the great preachers, it was long before Georgia, as the colony was named, proved a success. The enterprise was a charitable one, and the trustees had no money interest in it, and the



EARLY SAVANNAH, GEORGIA.

From a London print dated 1741. Dedicated to General Oglethorpe

very restrictions which they had provided for the good of the colony were not only distasteful to the colonists, as in the case of slavery, but in some cases proved to be really injurious to their prosperity.¹ At the end of twenty years (1752) the trustees resigned their charter to the crown, and Georgia, like the Carolinas, became a royal colony with its governor appointed by the crown.

SUMMARY.

The first permanent English settlement in America was that at Jamestown, Virginia, 1607. The settlers underwent many hardships. Captain John Smith was the ablest man among them. The first cargo of negro slaves was brought by the Dutch to Virginia in 1619, and in

¹ This was the case in regard to the restrictions upon the sale of land.

the same year the first representative legislative assembly met at Jamestown.

Henry Hudson, in the service of the Dutch, discovered the Hudson River in 1609. New Amsterdam, afterward New York, was founded on Manhattan Island, 1626.

Swedish emigrants settled on the Delaware, 1638; but after some years they came under the control of the Dutch.

The Pilgrims, who were separatists from the Church of England, came over in the *Mayflower* and settled Plymouth, 1620. They suffered many privations.

The colony of Massachusetts Bay was settled by Puritans in 1628-1630. They came to find homes in the new world where they might worship as they wished. They did not grant this freedom to others. These colonists governed themselves and established representative government.

Roger Williams, expelled from Massachusetts, founded Providence, and granted absolute religious freedom, 1636.

Boston was settled from Salem in 1630, and Connecticut from Massachusetts in 1635-1636. It was the first colony to have a written constitution.

Maine and New Hampshire, originally united, were divided in 1635. Massachusetts secured Maine, and New Hampshire, though some time attached to Massachusetts, was finally separated in 1741.

Maryland was settled by Lord Baltimore, an English Catholic. He granted religious toleration. Maryland had much trouble during the English civil war: the Puritans gained control, and put an end to toleration. Lord Baltimore lost his province in the revolution of 1688. In 1715 it was restored to the Baltimore family, who had become Protestants.

The rule of the royal governors in Virginia was often severe. A number of the colonists, under Bacon, rebelled. After some successes Bacon died, and the rebellion was put down.

Charles II. granted the Carolinas to eight proprietors, who attempted to establish an elaborate government. Except for a brief period, the Carolinas were in a very unsettled state, until they became royal colonies in 1729.

There were many disputes between the Dutch and English. The English captured New Amsterdam in 1664, and it became New York. The Dutch were among the first to encourage education.

New Jersey was settled 1664, and named after the island of Jersey. A very liberal policy was followed by the proprietors. Settlers came from other parts of America as well as from Europe. The province was divided into East and West Jersey. The western part was bought by Quakers in 1674. William Penn and others bought East Jersey in 1681. The owners of the Jerseys resigned their rights to the crown in 1702, and the provinces were united.

William Penn obtained Pennsylvania, 1681, from Charles II. in settlement of a debt. Penn aimed to establish a colony where justice should rule and where there might be liberty of conscience. He was remarkably successful. Penn also acquired from the Duke of York the counties on the Delaware, which afterward became Delaware.

The last colony to be established was Georgia. It was founded, 1733, by Oglethorpe, as a place of refuge for the poor and oppressed.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xxxi.

CHAPTER III.

ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND INDIANS.

REFERENCES.

S. A. Drake, *Making of New England*, etc., as in Chap. II.; A. M. Earle, *Child Life in Colonial Days*; M., *Home Life in Colonial Days*; A. B. Hart, *Source-Book*, Chap. V.

45. The Condition of the Colonists. (1700.) — A wide ocean made communication between England and her colonies slow and dangerous. During the eighty years or more which were between the accession of James I. and that of William and Mary (1603-1688), England had been the scene of more than one religious and political revolution. The various questions at home were so absorbing that little time was given to consider the interests of the far-away colonies. The colonists were left much to themselves. The result was self-development and the growth of self-dependence. The colonies made their own laws, subject, it is true, to the veto of the governor or of the crown, but this veto was not often imposed. The colonists spoke of themselves as Englishmen, and were loyal to the king; they also claimed the rights of Englishmen, and resented any trespass upon their rights. At first the settlements were widely separated, but as population increased the colonists began to see that in some things they had a common interest, and though local jealousy was strong, a bond of union existed. The first cause of united action sprang from a common dread of the Indians.

Colonies left
much to
themselves

Common
interests.

Colonists
and Indians.

46. Relations between the Colonists and the Indians.—

The Indian had all the instincts of savage life; he was suspicious and crafty, and he had gradually changed in his treatment of the colonists. He had learned the use of firearms and of various tools; he had learned to



JOHN ELIOT.

From a portrait in the family of the late William Whiting.

JOHN ELIOT, known as the "Apostle to the Indians," was born in England in 1604. He was educated at one of the universities, probably at Cambridge, and emigrated to Massachusetts in 1631. He was minister of the congregation at Roxbury. He early became interested in the welfare of the Indians, visited among them, and was the means of converting many of them to Christianity. He was one of the authors or editors of the "Bay Psalm Book," 1640, the first book printed in the English colonies. He died in 1660, universally respected.

John Eliot.

drink spirits, and he had been taught by experience that the white man often tried to cheat him, especially in regard to his lands. An Indian, if injured by one settler, considered it just to revenge himself on another, even though this settler might be innocent and even ignorant of what his fellow settler had done. Where the natives were treated well and with common justice, there was little or no trouble, settler and native living in harmony. The example of the Pilgrims, of Roger Williams, of the Dutch, of Lord Baltimore, and of William Penn, shows what could have been done in many other parts of the country.¹

47. John Eliot. (1661.)—A few of the settlers earnestly

¹ "The Hudson Bay Company for exactly two centuries, from 1670 to 1870, held a charter for the monopoly of trade with the Indians here over an immense extent of territory. . . . During that whole period, allowing for rare casualties, not a single act of hostility occurred between the traders and the natives." — *Narrative and Critical History of America*, i. 297.

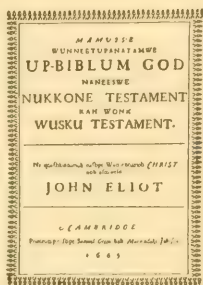
wished to convert the Indian to Christianity and to better his condition. Among these was John Eliot, known as the Apostle to the Indians, who translated the Bible for their benefit. This book, one of the earliest literary works in America, was published at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in 1663, the New Testament having been published in 1661. At Harvard College, too, there was provision made for instruction of the Indian youth, but these efforts were exceptional.

48. Situation and Growth of the English Colonies. (1700.) — The Eng-

lish had gained possession of the choicest parts of the new world; advantages of situation, climate, fertility of soil, abundance of navigable streams and safe harbors were theirs; in short, everything which might help the development of a hardy, industrious, and energetic race. There is no area in either of the Americas, or for that matter in the world outside of Europe, where it would have been possible to plant English colonies, that would have been found so suitable for the purpose."

More than any other of the colonizing nations, the English came to seek homes. The fact that they and their children had come to spend their lives in the new land, gave them a respect for law and order. It made them build comfortable houses, till their land with care, and secure education for their children. They sought to make the country of their choice safe, prosperous, and free.

Notwithstanding all their advantages, it was long before they occupied more than a narrow strip of land along the Atlantic coast; for the settlers were few, many of them



TITLE PAGE OF
ELIOT'S BIBLE.

Reduced facsimile.

The English
came to
make homes.

Settlements
widely sepa-
rated.

were poor, and not a few ignorant ; the settlements were widely separated, so that there was not much intercourse, and even in 1750 comparatively little was known of the country west of the Alleghanies.

The competitors of the English for the soil of the new country were the French, who held Nova Scotia, Canada, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi Valley to the sea ; and the Spaniards, who held Florida, Texas, and the valley of the Rio Grande.

Pequot War,
1636.

49. Pequot War. (1636.) — As the settlements increased, the whites encroached upon the lands of the Indians, who naturally resented such action. The first serious war was with the Pequots, in 1636 : this was waged almost wholly within the bounds of Connecticut. Massachusetts aided the settlers in Connecticut ; the Narragansetts also gave help ; the Pequots were almost destroyed. Roger Williams had kept the Narragansetts from fighting on the side of the Indians, and had tried to prevent the Pequots from going to war. The Pequot War made the colonists see the advantage to be gained from a union for the common defence. Accordingly, Rhode Island proposed that a union of the colonists should be formed for protection against the Indians, and that the Indians should be treated with justice. The colonies of New Haven and Connecticut, being in danger of attacks from both the Indians and the Dutch, were very willing to make such a league, but Massachusetts would not yet join hands either with those who had fled from her borders, or with those whom for various reasons she had expelled from her limits.

Rhode
Island pro-
poses union
of the
colonies.

50. The United Colonies of New England. (1643.) — In 1643, however, a league was formed under the title of "The United Colonies of New England." By the terms of the agreement, each colony, while retaining its indepen-

lence, was to appoint two commissioners to meet regularly at different towns with commissioners from the other colonies, to "hear, examine, weigh, and determine all affairs of our war or peace" and things of common interest. The association was stated to be for "offence and defence, mutual advice and succor upon all just occasions"; its existence was necessary because of the "outrages" of the Indians, as well as "distractions in England," which kept the colonies from seeking the advice and getting the protection which at other times they might well expect. Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Haven, and Connecticut joined in the league, which lasted until 1684. This union did not confer the practical benefit that might have been looked for, but it was of great value in teaching the colonists that a union was possible. It did not accomplish more because the colonists, already used to self-government, did not like to give up any of their privileges; the settlements, moreover, were far apart, and Massachusetts was dictatorial and overbearing.

51. King Philip's War. (1675-1676.)—The most severe conflict with the Indians was called King Philip's War. It was begun by Philip, an Indian chief, who lived at Mt. Hope, near where Bristol, Rhode Island, now stands. His father, Massasoit, had been a firm friend of the Pilgrims for forty years. But Philip was jealous and suspicious of the English, and became their bitter enemy. He nursed his revengeful feelings twelve years, and then attacked Swansey, burning the houses and murdering the inhabitants. Other tribes joined him; in 1675, within a few weeks, attacks were made upon the settlements along a line of about two hundred miles. The war lasted over two years, during which time twelve or thirteen settlements were destroyed, more than forty others were attacked,

United Colonies of New England,
1643-1684.

King Philip's War,
1675-1676.

Horrors of
Indian war-
fare.

and partly burnt ; dreadful scenes of slaughter had taken place, and several hundred settlers lost their lives. Many families were separated, different members being carried into captivity. Some of these, for whom a ransom might be expected, were, according to Indian ideas, treated well. Some, with other prisoners, were kept until an opportunity offered for putting them to death. Men, women, and children, even infants, were tomahawked ; they were clubbed to death, and their dead bodies burnt ; others were roasted to death over a slow fire ; some were subjected to tortures too terrible to describe.

It is hardly to be wondered at that the English settlers, on their part, treated the Indian captives with severity. It was an age of harsh dealings. The settlers were brought up to believe in the law of retaliation ; their lives were ordered according to Old Testament teaching rather than that of the Sermon on the Mount.

Death of
King Philip.

Leading Indian chiefs who had been taken captive, were hanged or shot, and hundreds of prisoners were shipped to the Bermudas and West Indies to be sold into slavery. King Philip, in revenge for an injury, was killed by one of his own tribe. Philip's head was cut off, taken to Plymouth, and mounted on a pole, where it remained exposed to view for about twenty years.

With Philip's death the war practically ended. After this time in central and southern New England the Indian power was completely broken, and the Indian was no longer feared, nor was it needful even to take him into account in reckoning dangers to be met. The war had been carried on by the colonists without aid of any kind from England.

The Dutch.

52. The Dutch ; the French. (1605-1682.)—The Indians were not the only enemies of the English settlers. The Dutch in New Netherland were a continual menace

to the Connecticut and New Haven colonies, while in the French all the settlements had a common enemy. The French held possession of the territory west of the English settlements, though the English claimed ownership of all lands even to the Pacific Ocean.

In 1605 (sect. 8) the French succeeded in making a permanent colony in Acadie (Nova Scotia) at Port Royal (Annapolis); in 1608 Champlain founded Quebec, and later explored the beautiful lake which bears his name.

While the English were making new homes for themselves, and working out the problems of local self-government along the Atlantic coast, the French were pushing their way through the St. Lawrence valley, and along the Great Lakes and the Mississippi River. The great motives which impelled the French were both commercial and missionary. With the fur trader

and the soldier went also the Roman Catholic priest, hoping to convert the native to Christianity. No difficulties, no dangers, were too great to deter him from his pious mission.



The French
as traders
and mis-
sionaries.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN.

After the wood-cut by Roujat.

SAMUEL DE CHAMPLAIN was born in France about 1568. He had been in commercial life and in the army, and had visited the West Indies and Mexico before he started on his first trip to Canada in 1603. He made extensive explorations, returned to France in about three years, and published a journal of his adventures. He went again to America in 1608, ascended the St. Lawrence to the site of Quebec, where he established a colony. He spent much time in explorations. In 1609 he discovered the lake which still bears his name. He was appointed governor of Canada in 1620. Quebec was captured by the British in 1629, and Champlain and his little band were sent as prisoners to England. Quebec was restored to the French by treaty.

Marquette.

The Jesuit Marquette and the fur trader Joliet reached the Mississippi in 1673. Another explorer, La Salle, after

La Salle.



The French
and the
Indians.

JAMES MARQUETTE.

"Who with Louis Joliet discovered the Mississippi River at Prairie du Chien, July 17, 1673." From the statue by G. Trentenove, in the Rotunda of the Capitol, Washington.

discovering the Ohio, pushed on through the wilderness to the Mississippi River; floated down the broad stream to its mouth (1682), and claimed for the French monarch the vast territory which he had traversed. The land that stretched westward and northward from the mouth of the great river, he called Louisiana, in honor of his king, Louis XIV. Hennepin, a Jesuit, one of La Salle's party, explored the Mississippi River as far north as the Falls of St. Anthony.

53. French and Indians; Strength and Weakness of the French. — The policy of the French toward the Indians was quite different from that of the English. The English, for the most part, regarded the Indians as enemies to be distrusted, and looked upon them as inferiors. The French, on the contrary, treated them as equals, intermarried with them,

tried to convert them to Christianity, and in every way endeavored to gain and to retain their friendship. The result was that the French had no trouble with the natives, except with those who took the side of the English. As a result the French did not have to provide for a danger always present to the English, and they were able to accomplish far more than would otherwise





have been possible with the number of men at their command.

One of the principal objects of the French was to control the fur trade. To further this object, the French established between Canada and the mouth of the Mississippi River a line of forts and trading posts. In this way the vast region west of the Alleghanies and east of the Mississippi came into their possession. They called this immense territory New France. It bounded the English possessions on the land side, and was a constant menace to their safety, especially as the two great waterways, the St. Lawrence and the Mississippi, were in the hands of the French.

The weakness of the French colonists was due in part to their small numbers, but chiefly to the fact "that the settlers represented a colonizing scheme based on trading posts; while their neighbors established and fought for homes in the English sense." The strength of the French lay in their policy toward the Indians, in their excellent generals and soldiers, and in



The
fur trade.

New France.

ROBERT CAVALIER SIEUR DE LA
SALLE.

After Margry's portrait.

ROBERT CAVALIER DE LA SALLE was born at Rouen, France, about 1635. He emigrated to America in 1667, and engaged in the fur trade, which took him into the wilderness and among the Indians. He started on his first exploration, 1679, but did not get farther than the site of Peoria. He returned to Canada and started a second time in 1682. This time he reached the Mississippi, and floated down its broad stream to the mouth — the first white man who had seen that part of the great river. He went to France, and having received authority to plant a colony in Louisiana, sailed on the return voyage in 1684. The captain of the ship, failing to find the mouth of the Mississippi, landed La Salle and his company in Texas, and left them to their fate. The little band suffered great privations; some of his followers mutinied, and La Salle was treacherously shot in 1687.

Weakness
of the
French.

Strength of
the French.

the fact that they were united; while the English were under different governments, and were full of local jealousies.

Civil War in
England.

54. English Civil War; Effect upon the Colonies. (1643-1660.)—The difficulties in England already referred to (sect. 50) culminated in civil war. The New England colonies were pleased with the success of the Parliamentary party, for, being Puritans, they naturally sympathized with their brethren in their old home.

Position of
the colonies.

Most of the colonies were careful not to commit themselves to either side; in Maryland alone was there anything like a struggle. It was soon found that Parliament intended to assume all the powers which had been claimed by the king. But the colonists had no idea of yielding any fuller obedience to the new government than they had yielded to the old. In fact, through the neglect with which they had been treated, they had learned that they could manage very well without a king or Parliament, so far as making their own laws was concerned. Oliver Cromwell, the Protector, seems to have fully appreciated the position of the colonists and the value and importance of the colonies, for under his rule no attempt was made to interfere with them.

Navigation
Acts en-
forced.

55. The Restoration; Policy of the Government. (1660-1684.)—With the restoration of Charles II. in 1660 a new order of things came in. The Navigation Acts regulating the trade of the colonies, passed by Parliament in 1646 and 1651 (sect. 84), but not hitherto enforced, were now put into operation, so far as possible. The English fleet which seized the Dutch colony of New Netherland (sect. 33) brought over four commissioners who had been sent to examine into the state of the New England colonies. Rhode Island, which had succeeded in getting very liberal

Charters
revoked,
1684.

charters from the king (sect. 19), acknowledged the authority of the commissioners. Massachusetts held to her charter, and would have little to do with them; in 1684, her charter was annulled by the English courts, and she was made a royal colony. Just as this became known to the people, Charles II. died and was succeeded by James II., who was a strong believer in the royal prerogative. The so-called "forfeiture of the charter" gave the king, it was



GREAT SEAL GRANTED TO THE NEW ENGLAND COLONIES IN SEPTEMBER, 1686, WHILE GOVERNED BY ANDROS.

claimed, supreme power, in virtue of which he determined to unite all the northern English colonies under one governor.

Rule of
Andros.

56. Rule of Andros. (1686–1689.)—In 1686 the charters of Connecticut and of Rhode Island were revoked.¹ In 1686, Sir Edmund Andros, already known to the colonists as an arbitrary man, was sent out as the governor of Massachusetts, Plymouth, New Hampshire, and Maine. In 1687, Andros went to Hartford and demanded

¹ It so happened that this revocation was never formally recorded. The action was therefore held as incomplete, and the charters were, in 1689, allowed to remain in force.

the charter of Connecticut. Tradition says that in the discussion which followed, the candles were suddenly blown out, and when relighted, the document was not to be found. In the confusion it had been seized and hidden in a hollow oak, which henceforth bore the name of the Charter Oak. In 1689, after the revolution in England, the charter went into force again. The oak tree stood until 1856, when it was blown down. In 1688 Andros was made governor of New York and New Jersey as well, and thus all the colonies north of the Delaware were united under one rule in accordance with the king's plan.

Andros in
Connecticut.



SIR EDMUND ANDROS.

After the portrait in the State Library
at Hartford.

Colonies
north of the
Delaware
united.

Two weeks after the news of the succession of William

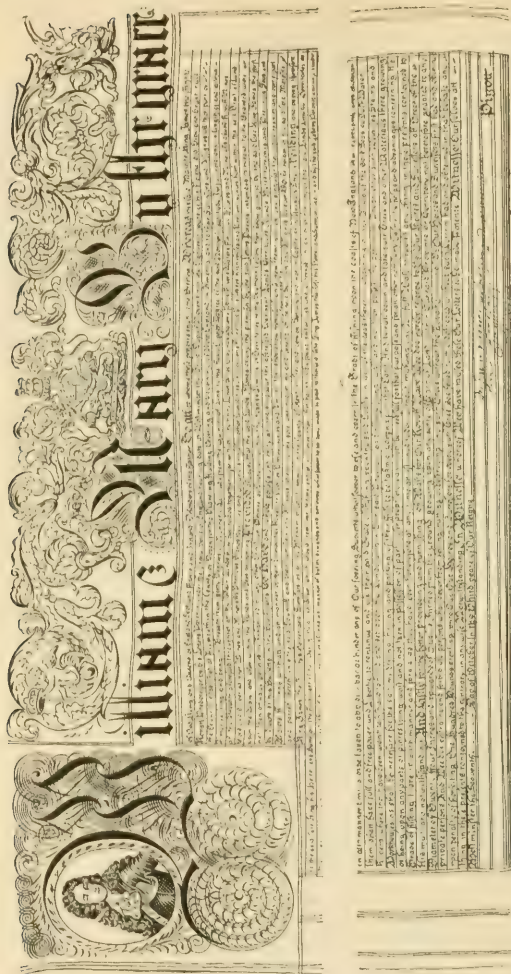
and Mary had reached New England, a town meeting was held in Boston. The "tyrant" Andros was called upon to surrender. He begged the ministers to intercede for him, but in vain. He tried to gain safety by flight, but was

Andros de-
posed by
colonists.



THE CHARTER OAK, HARTFORD.

After an old print.



REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE HEADING AND SIGNATURE OF THE CHARTER
OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

caught as he was endeavoring to escape in woman's clothes. He was imprisoned and afterward, at command of King William, sent to England to be tried,

but he was set at liberty without having been brought to trial.¹

57. Restoration of Charters; Massachusetts. (1691.)—Connecticut and Rhode Island had their charters restored, but Massachusetts did not regain hers. A new charter was, however, given in 1691, which united the colonies of Massachusetts Bay, Plymouth, Maine, and Nova Scotia. By this charter the governor, lieutenant-governor, and secretary were appointed by the crown; the people elected the representatives; all laws were subject to an immediate veto by the governor, and to a veto within three years by the crown. The governor could also "convene, adjourn, or dissolve" the legislature at his pleasure. These restrictions made Massachusetts, though having a charter, really a royal colony.

Charters
restored,
1691.

58. Intolerance in the Colonies.—One of the main objects which the colonists set before themselves in the sixteenth century was to spread the Gospel, and yet with the single exception of Rhode Island, there was not a colony which did not prescribe punishment of some kind, or loss of civil rights, for persons who differed in religious opinion from those in power. In fact, in the seventeenth century such a thing as toleration was hardly thought of.

Intolerance
in the
colonies.

The Puritans came in order to find a place where they could worship God as they themselves pleased; they had no intention of allowing to others a like freedom. We have already seen that Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson were compelled to leave Massachusetts; and it was not until 1680 that Baptists could worship with freedom in the colony.

Puritans.

¹ Andros was afterward governor of Virginia, 1692-1698. Andros did little more than carry out the orders of the crown; he seems, however, to have been a willing instrument.

Quakers
and
Puritans.

59. The Quakers. (1656-1661.)—The Friends, or Quakers were a special object of fear and dislike to the Puritans. This was not unnatural. The Puritan believed in the union of Church and State; the Quaker believed in their separation. The Puritan believed that all persons in his colony should worship alike, and, on religious matters, should even think, alike; the Quaker believed that each individual must follow the dictates of his own conscience. The Puritans looked upon these doctrines as destructive of law and order.

The Quakers, on the other hand, were confident that it was their duty to go to Massachusetts and proclaim the truth as it appeared to them. In July, 1656, two Quaker women came to Boston. They were put in jail, their books burnt, and "after having been about five weeks prisoners . . . [the] master of a vessel was bound in one hundred pound bond to carry them back." In the same year a law was passed forbidding any ship-master to bring any Quakers into the colony, under a penalty of £100, and if any such were brought, the captain was compelled to take them away again. The Quakers themselves were meanwhile to be sent to the house of correction "to be severely whipped," "kept constantly to work, and none suffered to converse or speak with them."

Quakers
banished
from Massa-
chusetts.

But this did not stop their coming, and so in 1658 a new law provided for the banishment of visiting and resident Quakers and imposed death as a penalty for returning after being banished. Under this law Mary Dyer and three others were hanged on Boston Common. During the persecution the punishments inflicted were fines, imprisonment, whipping, keeping in irons, branding with the letter H (heretic), boring through the tongue with a hot iron, whipping at "the cart's tail" from village to village,

and death. At last orders came from the crown to stop such proceedings.¹

60. Witchcraft Delusion. (1648 1693.) The witchcraft delusion is hard to understand. Belief in witchcraft came down from very early times; nearly all the nations of Europe had laws against it. As late as 1665 the English Parliament passed a law punishing witchcraft with death, under which not a few suffered. It was not strange that the delusion had its day in America. Witchcraft.

As early as 1648 a supposed witch was executed in Boston. The great excitement relative to the matter was at Salem, Massachusetts, in 1692. Persons were accused of being in league with the devil; of pinching and biting others, and of pricking them with pins; of causing them to bark like dogs, mew like cats, and fly through the air like geese. Other equally absurd charges were made. Many persons were accused, and twenty of them, including a clergyman, were put to death. As it was impossible for the accused to defend himself, a charge was almost equivalent to conviction. Excitement
in Salem.

While the excitement lasted, the delusion took hold of all ranks and classes, even the most highly educated. Fortunately the period was short. The good sense of the community revolted against the folly and injustice of the charges and the wholesale accusations. In about six months (February, 1693), there was a general opening of the prison doors, and charges ceased to be made. One of the judges, who had condemned a number to death, kept annually a day of fasting as a token of his repentance. Much has been written about witchcraft in America; it is often overlooked that there were in England

¹ This severity was the work of the rulers; the people, as a whole, were opposed to it.

many more executions for witchcraft. There the delusion lasted much longer, five persons having been put to death on that account as late as 1722.

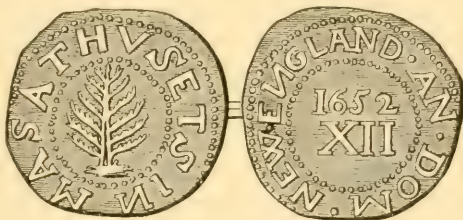
Colonial
beliefs and
customs.

61. Colonial Beliefs and Customs. — The colonists brought with them from their old homes their customs and many of their laws. Ideas which now seem strange were held in regard to the duty of the state toward its citizens. Almost every one believed that it was proper for the state to regulate the dress, the habits, the wages, and in short, nearly everything which related to its citizens and their interests. The laws regarding Sunday observance were very severe; work, except that which was absolutely necessary, and all amusement were positively forbidden; infraction of the law was punishable by fine or otherwise. Lying, scolding, swearing, getting drunk, were all criminal, and for each there was a special punishment. Among the penalties was the ducking-stool. This was designed to punish a common scold; it consisted of a chair or stool fastened to a long plank, the middle of the plank resting on a cross-piece of wood. The ducking-stool was taken to the water's edge, and the woman was tied in the chair; she was then dipped in the water as often as seemed necessary to inflict sufficient punishment. There were also the stocks and the pillory. Other methods were making the culprit wear a letter on the breast indicative of the crime, such as D, for drunkard; branding on the hand; cropping the ears; boring the tongue; flogging on the bare back in public. Though the Puritans of New England were the most rigid in these matters, they were not alone; the other colonies must bear their share of any blame that may be given to the beliefs and practices of those days.¹

Punish-
ments.

¹ It is hardly necessary to say that many of the so-called Blue Laws of Connecticut are an invention.

62. Money; Commerce; Piracy.—The weights and measures and the money used in the English colonies were naturally those with which the colonists had been familiar in their old homes. Almost all the colonies after a time coined additional money of their own; the Massachusetts pine-tree shilling, as it was called from the pine-tree represented on one side of the coin, may be taken as an example. Commerce was of somewhat slow growth in the colonies, but gradually a profitable trade sprung up with the West Indies, with the mother country, and among the colonists themselves. Commercial enterprises fell, in great measure, to New England on account of the sterility of her soil, which compelled her citizens to turn to other employments than agriculture. The New Englanders became great ship-builders; they were among the most skilful fishermen and whalers that the world has ever known, and their vessels were on every sea.



PINE-TREE SHILLING.

Piracy on the high seas was then so common that commerce suffered greatly. One of the most notorious and daring of the pirates was Captain William (or Robert) Kidd. He was supposed to have buried treasure at various places on the Atlantic coast, and some, even to the present time, have sought to find his hidden wealth. But before the middle of the eighteenth century piracy had largely passed away.

63. Social Life in the Colonies; Slavery.—The people

Lack of
comforts
and conven-
iences.

of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had few of the comforts and conveniences that make life easy for us. Except in the case of the earliest settlers there was not so much difference in this respect between Europe and America. Roads were bad, but so they were in England; tea and coffee were scarce in the early days, but so they were in Europe. The colonists had no matches, no coal, no stoves, no coal-oil lamps, a tallow candle being their chief dependence for light, while a flint, steel, and tinder-box took the place of matches. A hundred articles, now considered necessary, were unknown.

Manufac-
tures.

There were few manufactures. England did all she could to keep her colonists from making anything. It was thought that the colonists should get all their supplies from the country from which they had emigrated, — in short, that colonies existed chiefly for the benefit of the mother country.

British
restrictions.

Laws were passed in England forbidding the export from the colonies of any wool or woollen manufactures; iron ore might be mined, but it must not be made into iron in America; it was to be sent to England for that purpose. Fur hats were common in the eighteenth century; there was abundance of fur in America from which such hats were made, but their manufacture would injure the English makers of hats; so "for preventing the said ill practices for the future, and for promoting . . . the trade of making hats in Great Britain," it was enacted that no more hats should be made in America. In fact there was scarcely a manufactured article of which the sale or manufacture was not restricted in some way in the interest of England. Fortunately the blacksmith and wheelwright could not well be forbidden. Each village therefore could boast of its blacksmith and wheelwright whose shop was a favorite lounging place for men and boys.

One result of this policy was to make the colonists self-dependent. They were forced to rely upon themselves, and, particularly in New England, the men became handy at almost all kinds of work, inventive and fertile in resources. The women were industrious and capable. In every family there was a spinning-wheel, and the homespun linen was long the pride of the housewives. Woollen cloth also was woven for the fathers and sons.

Social life in
New Eng-
land;

Corn-huskings and apple-bees were times of amusement as well as of work in New England, where amusements were few and holidays rare. In the southern colonies life was taken less severely. There was much diversion. In Virginia fox-hunting, horse-races, and cock-fights were common. In Virginia and Maryland the planters formed an upper class which held aloof from those who had to labor with their hands. In New York the old Dutch patroons also were exclusive in their ideas.

in Virginia,
and
Maryland;

in New
York,

Slavery existed in all the colonies, though in New England and the middle colonies there were few slaves and the number was decreasing. Already in Pennsylvania in 1688 Pastorius and the Friends in Germantown had made a public written protest¹ against slavery, and in nearly all the colonies the system was looked upon as an evil to be done away with as soon as practicable.

Slavery.

64. Colleges founded; Newspapers. (1636-1704.)—In the earliest days, the clergymen were almost the only educated men, but the colonists had shown their estimation of the value of education by founding, in 1636, at Cambridge (then Newtown), a high school or college. To it, John Harvard, a graduate of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, England, left his library and about four thousand

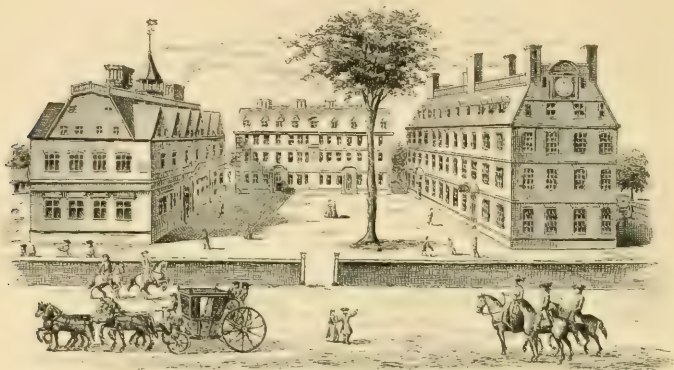
Education.

Harvard
College.

¹ "It is noteworthy as the first protest made by a religious body against negro slavery."

Colleges.

dollars, a large sum in those days. The college was named in honor of him who made this generous bequest.



"A PROSPECT OF THE COLLEGES IN CAMBRIDGE IN NEW ENGLAND."

After an early picture in the possession of the Massachusetts Historical Society.

William and Mary. In Virginia, the College of William and Mary, named after the reigning king and queen of England, was established



COLLEGE OF WILLIAM AND MARY.

After a lithograph made from a drawing by Thomas Millington, about 1740.

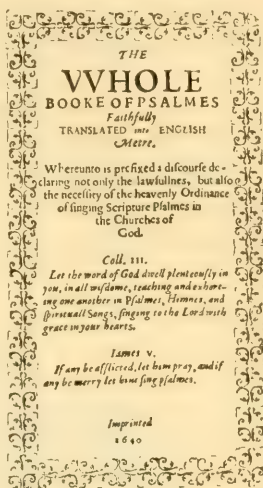
in 1692. In 1700 ten Congregational ministers met and each gave ten books toward the library of a new college

to be established in Connecticut; such was the beginning of Yale College. Books were few, and so were newspapers, the first newspaper being the *Boston News Letter*, established in 1704. College.

65. Means of Communication between the Colonies; Mails. —

Among the influences which tended to bind the settlements together were certain dangers to which they were exposed; these were: from the Indians; from the French on the north and west; and from the Spaniards on the south and south-west. But even this bond was weak, so distrustful and jealous were the colonists of one another.

For many years after the settlement of the several colonies, communication was very difficult. It was much easier to go to England from Boston, than to go by land from Boston to Virginia. The stage coaches were



REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE
TITLE-PAGE OF THE FIRST
BOOK PRINTED IN AMERICA.

Means of communication.



NUM. 1084

THE AMERICAN WEEKLY MERCURY.

From Thursday October 2, to Thursday October 9, 1740.

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF THE HEADING OF AN EARLY ISSUE OF THE FIRST NEWSPAPER IN PHILADELPHIA.

Roads.

Difficulties
of travel.

clumsy and were improved upon but slowly. To go from Boston to New York by coach in six days, and from New York to Philadelphia in two days, was thought to be making good time. The roads were bad; they were laid out over the hills with little regard to easy grades. It was not uncommon for the coach to be upset, or break down, or to get stuck in the mud; in the last case, it was expected that the passengers would put their shoulders to the wheel. There were few bridges. On broad streams there were flat-boat ferries, while smaller streams had to be forded. On



OLD TIME STAGE-COACH AND INN.

some routes there was danger of highway robbers. There was no regular public coach in New England until about the middle of the eighteenth century.

The mail.

The mail was generally carried on horseback. In Virginia the mail was rarely more frequent than twice a month, while, further south, a man might be considered fortunate if he had the opportunity of sending a letter once a month. As the colonies increased in population, intercourse became easier and more frequent. It took many years, however, to show the English colonists that they had common interests.

66. Intercolonial Wars ; King William's War ; First Congress of the Colonies. (1689-1697.)—The seventeenth and eighteenth centuries were in Europe a time of almost constant war, and it was natural that the quarrels should be fought over in the new world as well as in the old. So when England and France went to war in 1689, their American colonies engaged in the first intercolonial war, known as King William's War from the ruling king of England, William III. The French with their Indian allies attacked the settlements on the edge of the northern colonies ; at Schenectady, New York, and at Salmon Falls, New Hampshire, terrible massacres took place. All along the frontier, midnight attacks, hairbreadth escapes, women and children taken into captivity, and whole families tomahawked, were the fearful incidents of this cruel and barbarous conflict.

King William's War,
1689-1697.

The common danger aroused the colonists. By invitation of Massachusetts, a congress of commissioners met, April, 1690, at New York, to discuss affairs, and to agree upon some plan of attack and defence. Although only Massachusetts, Plymouth, Connecticut, and New York responded, this meeting is interesting as the first attempt at a congress of all the English colonies in America. It was determined to attack the French by land and by sea. The land expedition was a total failure, never even reaching Canada ; but the naval forces took Port Royal, and conquered the province of Acadie, in which Port Royal was situated. Attempts against Quebec and Montreal were unsuccessful. The peace of Ryswick, in 1697, put an end to hostilities. By the terms of the peace there was a mutual restoration of territory. To those who had won Acadie from the French this provision caused disappointment and chagrin.

First congress in
America,
1690.

Acadie
(Nova Scotia) taken.

67. Second Intercolonial War ; Queen Anne's War.

Queen
Anne's War,
1702-1713.

(1702-1713.)—The second intercolonial war was known in Europe as the war of the Spanish Succession, but in the colonies as Queen Anne's War. This conflict was waged by England, Holland, and Germany on the one side, against Spain and France on the other. The Five Nations (sect. 2) who lived between the French and the English settlements, having made peace with the French, did not take part in this struggle. New England was the principal scene of the warfare; the most southern colonies also suffered, but from the Spaniards. Port Royal was again taken from the French by the united efforts of British and colonial troops, and its name was changed, in honor of the



THE SEAL OF ANNAPOLIS.

Indian at-
tacks.

English queen, to Annapolis. An expedition against Quebec failed disastrously. The war lasted eleven years. By the terms of the treaty of peace, England retained most of Acadie, which became Nova Scotia. The possession of this country gave England control of the fisheries. In this war Massachusetts suffered greatly from the Indians. Deerfield, Massachusetts, which had suffered in King Philip's War (sect. 51), was the scene of one of the most terrible Indian attacks in colonial history. Many persons were massacred, and over a hundred carried into captivity. Notwithstanding the peace, the English frontier was for a long time subject to attacks from the Indians.

In the progress of the war, the Tuscaroras, an Iroquois tribe in North Carolina, attempted to destroy the English settlers in that colony. They were so badly defeated that they were glad to migrate to northern and western New York (1713-1715). There they joined the Five Nations; the united tribes were known thereafter as the Six Nations.

68. Third Intercolonial War; King George's War. King George's War, 1744-1748.
(1744-1748.)—The third war, King George's War, was another conflict between England and France. It lasted about four years; the only important incident in this country was the capture by the combined force of colonial and British troops, of the strongly fortified town of Louisburg, on the island of Cape Breton. Louisburg. This place was considered the Gibraltar of America; the daring, the bravery, and the perseverance of the colonial troops gave the colonists a reliance upon their own resources which they never forgot or lost. To the disgust of the colonies, Louisburg was returned to the French in 1748, when peace was made.

69. Lessons of the Intercolonial Wars. — Several of the colonies had taken part in the expedition against Louisburg. The New England colonies, however, bore the brunt of the conflict and suffered the most in each of the three wars which have been described. The colonies had met with heavy losses in property and life; the conquest of Nova Scotia and the control of the Newfoundland fisheries by the English were the chief gains. They had, however, learned two things: (1) That they must protect themselves, as England was ready at any time to sacrifice their interests for her advantage; and (2) that, in a campaign in America, the colonial, or provincial troops, were quite equal in efficiency to the British regulars, while the provincial officers were often superior to those of the British army. Results of intercolonial wars.

70. Slave Trade. (1713-1776.) — One of the provisions of the treaty of Utrecht (1713) at the close of Queen Anne's War, furnishes a notable example of the selfish policy which, at this time, England practised toward her colonies. This provision is that known as the "Assi- Slave trade.

ento." By it England secured the right to supply the Spanish-American colonies annually with not less than forty-eight hundred negro slaves from Africa. The right to engage in the slave trade was given to the South Sea Company, in which the queen was a stockholder. Slaves were also carried to the English colonies. It is estimated that about three hundred thousand negro slaves had been brought to the British settlements before 1776. Again and again had colonial legislatures passed acts forbidding the slave trade, only to have them vetoed by the royal governors or by the home government.

SUMMARY.

The colonists, left to themselves, became self-dependent. There was much local jealousy. Dread of the Indians formed the first bond of union. The English held the choicest parts of the new world. The French were their great competitors. In 1643 the New England colonies formed a league. King Philip's War was one of the most severe conflicts with the Indians.

The Dutch threatened some of the English colonies, but the French were enemies of all. The French were traders and missionaries, and explorers. The English came to make homes. The English generally distrusted the Indians, but the French treated them as equals.

The colonies were treated harshly under the rule of Andros. There was much intolerance. Belief in witchcraft was common in the seventeenth century: in Salem, Massachusetts, the delusion was particularly strong.

The colonists brought most of their customs from England. There were few manufactures in America. Slavery existed in all the colonies. Harvard College was founded 1636, William and Mary, 1692, and Yale, 1701.

King William's War (1689-1697): Queen Anne's War (1702-1713); King George's War (1744-1748) were fought between the French and English colonists. By them the English colonists learned their strength. The slave trade was forced upon the colonists.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xxxvi.

CHAPTER IV.

STRUGGLE FOR COLONIAL EMPIRE.

REFERENCES.

J. Fiske, War of Independence; A. B. Hart, Source-Book, Chap. vi.; Old South Leaflets, No. 73, Account of the Battle of Quebec; T. W. Higginson, Larger History of the United States.

71. The French and the English Colonies. (1750.)— By The French and English. By the middle of the eighteenth century it had become evident that, within a few years, a struggle must take place between the French and English for the control of North America. Up to this time the English settlers had hugged the Atlantic coast, only a few penetrating beyond the Alleghanies. The vast region beyond those mountains, from the Great Lakes to the Gulf of Mexico, was held by the French.

During the thirty years of peace (1713-1744) which followed Queen Anne's War (sect. 67) the French colonists had been getting ready for the final struggle. They were determined to make New France a great empire. New France. Explorers were sent out and settlements attempted. Mobile was founded by Iberville in 1706, and New Orleans by Bienville in 1718. To secure the great country which France claimed, it was needful to keep out the English, and to establish lines of communication along the St. Lawrence, the Great Lakes, and thence to the Mississippi and the Gulf of Mexico. Among the defences on the eastern frontier was a fort, built in 1730, at Crown Point on Lake Champlain. This guarded the entrance into Canada from

French
forts.

the valley of the Hudson. To protect the lines of communication about sixty forts were built between the St. Lawrence and New Orleans. The skill with which the locations of these posts were selected is shown by the fact that many of them have since become cities or



FORT WAYNE IN 1795.

After a lithograph in Wallace A. Bruce's "History of Fort Wayne." 1868.

towns; among these are Fort Wayne, Detroit, Toledo, and Natchez.

French and
English
colonies.

The government in France had neither encouraged emigration, nor given much aid to the colonies; indeed, little help could have been expected from the corrupt government of Louis XIV. After one hundred and fifty years of occupation, the population of the French colonies did not exceed 125,000, while their English rivals probably numbered 1,250,000. The greater part of the country held by the French was almost as wild as the continent was when discovered by the Cabots. With the exception of New Orleans and one or two other places, there was hardly a French settlement outside of Canada; for the forts were simply military posts.

72. Ohio Company; Activity of the French; Washington. (1753.)—The English claimed a large part of the

continent westward to the South Seas, as the Pacific was then called; the French claimed all the territory west of the Alleghanies, by right of discovery and exploration; while the Indians claimed the whole, by right of occupation. Neither the French nor the English respected any claim that clashed with their personal interests. The conflicting claims to this vast western region had not caused trouble until 1748, when a land company, known as the Ohio Company, was organized by English and Virginia speculators. The purpose of this association was to induce emigrants to move to western lands which really belonged to Pennsylvania, but which Virginia claimed under her charter. Explorers brought back such glowing accounts of the country that surveyors were sent out to survey it and open roads.

French and English conflicting claims.

Ohio Company.

As soon as the French heard of this enterprise they began to increase the number of their forts and to build a line of forts nearer the English border. One of these forts was placed at Presque Isle (Erie), another at Venango, and another at Franklin, Pennsylvania. The French seized the surveyors of the Ohio Company, and destroyed an English post on the Miami. Governor Dinwiddie of Virginia sent George Washington, then a land surveyor, to carry an official letter to the French, protesting against the occupation of lands belonging to Virginia. Washington was also directed to find out whether the Indians were friendly to the English, and if possible, to gain their friendship and support.

Washington a messenger to the French.

73. Washington's Expedition; Surrenders to French; French and Indian War. (1754.)—Washington was only twenty-one years of age; the undertaking involved a winter journey of about a thousand miles, through the wilderness. Washington accomplished his mission, having encountered

Virginians
send a force
to protect
western
posts, 1754.

many perils and meeting more than one hairbreadth escape. His account of the expedition led the Virginians to prepare for war, as the French flatly refused to give up their posts. Early in the next year (1754) the Virginia legislature voted men and money to guard the posts which the English colonists had already established in the disputed territory. A small force was sent to protect a fort begun by the Ohio Company at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers, which was considered to be the key to the Ohio country, and was called the "Gateway of the West." The commanding officer having died, Washington, who was second officer, took command of the little army.

Washington
surrenders
to the
French.

The French, learning that the English had occupied the position, sent a force which drove them off, and built a fort there, naming it after their governor, Fort Du Quesne. This was the site of the city of Pittsburg. The French advanced to meet the Virginia forces. The French outnumbered the English, and, after a skirmish, Washington fell back. He built a small stockade fort, which he named Fort Necessity. Attacked here by superior numbers he was compelled to surrender July 4, 1754, though on the honorable terms that he and his men should be allowed to return home. In the previous skirmish Washington had with his own hand fired the first shot in a war which was to become almost world-wide—a war, the results of which have rarely been surpassed in their far-reaching influence.

French and
Indian War:
its signifi-
cance.

This war, known in America as the French and Indian War, and in Europe as the Seven Years' War, differed from previous colonial wars in the following particulars: that actual hostilities were begun in America; that the conflict was a struggle for supremacy between the Latin

and English races; that it decided the question which should be the colonizing nation of the world; and that, before its conclusion, most of the nations of Europe were involved.

74. Albany Convention; Franklin's Plan of Union. (1754.)—The colonies felt, as never before, that a common danger threatened them; and many of them saw that the question of their expansion, if not of their freedom, was involved in the impending conflict. The cause of Virginia was seen to be a common one, and all the colonies voted to aid her. The other wars had been brought on mainly by the quarrels of England and France, about matters in which the colonies had little concern; this war affected their most vital interests.

A common danger.

The English government advised the colonies to unite in repelling the danger. In 1754 twenty-five delegates from New England, Maryland, Pennsylvania, and New York met at Albany to consider the state of affairs, and to meet delegates from the Six Nations of the Iroquois, whom they hoped to win over to the English side, or at least induce to remain neutral.

Albany convention,
1754.

Some of the delegates in this convention afterward became well known, among them Benjamin Franklin. A plan of union, drawn up by Franklin, called the Albany plan, was adopted, and forwarded to the colonial legislatures and to England. The colonies unanimously rejected it on the ground that it gave too much power to the crown; the English government rejected it on the ground that it gave too much power to the colonists. The meeting, however, did much good in bringing the colonies closer together.

Franklin's plan of union.

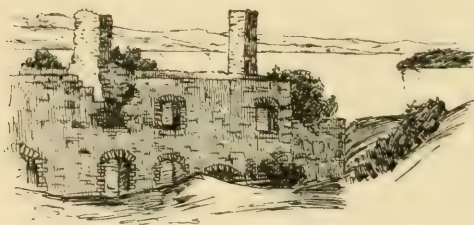
75. Fourth Intercolonial War. (1754.)—Though there had been no formal declaration of war, both England and

Fourth
Intercolo-
nial War.

France sent additional troops to be ready for the conflict. A belt of forest and mountains, almost impassable for armies, and even for small bodies of soldiers, separated the English and the French settlements.

Three lines
of invasion.

Invasion could be made along the natural lines of communication. These were: (1) The St. Lawrence River; (2) Lakes George and Champlain; (3) Niagara River. Louisburg protected the approach to the St. Lawrence, and could be used as a base for an attack upon the coasts of the English settlements or the fisheries of Newfoundland. Quebec, the most strongly fortified post in America, with the possible exception of Louisburg, was the key to



CROWN POINT.

From a sketch made in 1851, showing a slope of the embankment, with part of the ruins of the barracks.

the St. Lawrence and its valley. Forts Crown Point and Ticonderoga defended the Lake Champlain route. Fort Niagara controlled the Upper Lakes and the

northern part of the Mississippi Valley. Fort Du Quesne controlled the middle region bordering on the English territory, and so long as this fort should be held by the French, the colonies of Pennsylvania and Virginia would be in danger from both French and Indians.

Braddock's
expedition,
1755.

76. Braddock's Expedition; his Defeat. (1755.)—General Edward Braddock was sent out from England as commander-in-chief. The English determined to attack the French in Acadie, at Crown Point, at Niagara, and at Fort Du Quesne. Braddock himself led the expedition against the last-named place. He had been warned by

Benjamin Franklin against ambushes and Indian methods of warfare; the provincial officers, including Washington, who was one of his aids, repeated the warning. Braddock persisted in the European method of conducting a campaign. Near Fort Du Quesne the army was attacked by the French and Indians. Braddock was mortally wounded, the regular troops were utterly defeated, and many stores lost. Washington, upon whom the command devolved, conducted the retreat skilfully. The military losses of this expedition were great, and much of the western part of Virginia and Pennsylvania was ravaged by the French and Indians.

Braddock's
defeat, 1755.

77. Expedition against Acadie; War formally declared. (1756.)—The same year, 1755, an expedition against the part of Acadie still held by the French (principally what is now New Brunswick), was successful. It was in this campaign that occurred the expulsion of the French peasants from Grand Pré.¹ For driving so many persons from their homes the English have been strongly denounced. It was a cruel thing to do, but it was not done until almost "every resource of patience and perseverance had been tried in vain." It seemed to be a military necessity. The Acadians were simple-minded peasants, who did not understand that, as their country had passed under the rule of England, they could no longer aid the French, but were bound to act as subjects of the English king. The unfortunate exiles were distributed among the English colonies from Massachusetts to Georgia, and eventually many found their way to Louisiana, "where their descendants still form a numerous and distinct part of the population."

English in
Acadie
(Nova Scotia).

Exile of the
Acadians.

The English, after several reverses, were successful in

¹ This action of the British was the historical basis for Longfellow's poem, "Evangeline."

some of their operations along the Lake Champlain route. In this expedition they were aided by Indian allies. Crown Point, however, was too strong to be taken. An expedition against Fort Niagara was a failure. In 1756 war was

The war
spreads to
Europe and
India, 1756.



WILLIAM PITT.

Montcalm.

WILLIAM PITT, afterward first Earl of Chatham, was born in England, 1708. He was educated at Eton and Cambridge. He entered Parliament at twenty-seven, and soon became prominent. He distinguished himself by espousing the cause of the Americans, but later he opposed their independence. He was created Earl of Chatham in 1766, and died in 1778. He was one of England's great orators and statesmen. His clear head enabled him to see the important points to be gained, his skill in the knowledge of men led him to appoint the right man in the right place, and his judgment showed him what course was best to be pursued. "No man," said a soldier of the time, "ever entered Mr. Pitt's closet who did not feel himself braver when he came out than when he went in." No part of his policy was more successful than his treatment of the American colonies.

formally declared in Europe; hostilities, already begun in America, spread to the continent of Europe, and to the colonies of France and England in India; "black men fought on the coast of Coromandel, and red men scalped each other on the Great Lakes of North America, alike ignorant of the real causes which set them at variance."

78. The French at first Successful; Montcalm; William Pitt. (1757.)—The Marquis of Montcalm, now appointed commander-in-chief of the French, was the bravest and most skilful officer that had yet appeared in America. In a short time he had driven the English out of the disputed territory, gained the Indians for the French, and was preparing a strong fleet at Louisbourg to attack Nova Scotia and New England. By the

end of 1757, France seemed to have the advantage all along the disputed lines.

Hitherto the English had sent out inefficient leaders, who scorned the advice of the provincial leaders and looked down upon the colonial troops and their methods. In 1757 William Pitt became Secretary of State, and practically Prime Minister. At once the influence of a strong man in the government was felt wherever the English had any interests. He saw that the struggle between England and France was to be fought in the colonies, and he acted accordingly. Far from ignoring the colonial officers and troops, he treated them with consideration and favor, and though the command was still to remain in the hands of officers from England, abler men were sent out.

William Pitt.

His policy.

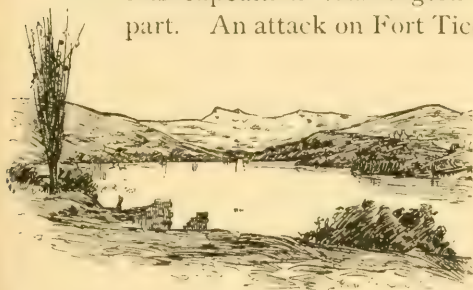
79. English Plans; General Wolfe. (1759.)—The English in their new campaign chose of necessity the old lines of attack. In 1758 Louisburg was taken. Later in the year Fort Du Quesne, deserted by the French on the approach of the English troops, was occupied, and renamed Fort Pitt, afterward to become Pittsburg. In this expedition Washington took an important part. An attack on Fort Ticonderoga, which the

Louisburg taken.

Fort Du Quesne becomes Fort Pitt.

French had built on the shores of Lake George, failed after a heavy loss of life.

In the year 1759, the English resolved to attack the French by three



TICONDEROGA.

Ruins and landing wharf on the right. The high hill is Mount Defiance. After a sketch made in 1851.

routes: the St. Lawrence, Lake Champlain, and Niagara. General James Wolfe, who had shown conspicuous bravery

English
campaign
against
Quebec,
1759.

and skill at Louisburg, was intrusted with the command of an expedition against Quebec. It was expected that the



GENERAL JAMES WOLFE.

After the print in Fittick's "General History of the Late War."

forces sent by the three routes, if successful, would join him in the attack upon that stronghold; but they were not able to do so. Quebec, the key to the St. Lawrence, was the most important place in Canada. Montcalm, compelled to draw men for its defence from other places, weakened his lines. The weakness of the French colonies now became evident; their own population could furnish but little reënforcement; while the men and supplies

brought from France would find it almost impossible to reach their destination, because the English practically controlled the entrance to the St. Lawrence.

Advantages
on the side
of the
English.

80. Quebec; English Triumph. (1759-1763.)—The English, on the other hand, had a population more than ten times as great as that of the French, and were easily able to reënforce their armies; their settlements, moreover, were compact and easily accessible; and supplies for their armies could be obtained easily from their own homes. It was easy to foresee the result. The struggle, however, was to be no child's play. Montcalm, the French leader, was a brave man and a skilful general. The capture of Quebec was essential to English success. More than once Wolfe was almost ready to give up his efforts to take the town. Standing upon a high cliff, between the St. Lawrence and the St.

Charles, Quebec is protected on three sides by water; on the fourth rise precipitous rocks, which were thought to be insurmountable by an attacking force. Wolfe determined to scale the cliffs. One moonless night he embarked a force of men on boats which floated silently into the cove, since known as Wolfe's Cove; the soldiers landed at the foot of the bluffs. Two dozen volunteers scrambled up the cliffs; they were soon followed

Wolfe's
attack on
Quebec.



QUEBEC IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY.

From an old print.

by a larger number of men; a small French force at the top was captured. The rest of the English soon disembarked, slung their muskets over their backs, and then catching at trees and bushes, the hardy troops climbed the steep ascent. By daylight Wolfe had gained a position on the Plains of Abraham, less than a mile from Quebec; here he was able to meet the French on equal ground. In the battle which followed, both Wolfe and Montcalm were mortally wounded, the former dying upon the field. Quebec was surrendered. The French tried to retake it,

Death of
Montcalm
and Wolfe.

England
triumphant.
1760.

but failed. In 1760, Montreal, their last stronghold, was taken. Forts Crown Point, Ticonderoga, and Niagara had already fallen; the English were everywhere triumphant.

The capture of Quebec proved to be the great turning-point in American colonial history.



THE MARQUIS DE MONTCALM.

It decided that the largest and best part of North America should be under Anglo-Saxon control; that, in this vast region of the new world, Anglo-Saxon ideas should prevail, and Anglo-Saxon freedom, laws, and customs should flourish. It made possible the future United States.

Conditions
of peace,
1763.

81. Conditions of Peace; Results of the War. (1763.)

— By the terms of the treaty

Changes in
territory.

of peace made at Paris in 1763, England gained all the possessions of France in America east of the Mississippi and the island on which New Orleans stands, except two small islands near Newfoundland, which were reserved for fishing purposes. Spain gave Florida to England in return for Havana, Cuba, and the Philippine Islands, which the English had captured during the war. France, by a secret treaty, gave New Orleans and all French claims west of the Mississippi River, to Spain, in order to compensate Spain for the loss of Florida. England gave up all claims to lands beyond the Mississippi, which river remained for almost fifty years the western boundary of English settlements.¹

¹ It was also agreed that the navigation of the Mississippi should be free to Spain and England; and that the French in Canada should be allowed the exercise of the Catholic religion "as far as the laws of Great Britain permit."



CENTRAL NORTH AMERICA, 1755
AT THE BEGINNING OF THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.



CENTRAL NORTH AMERICA, 1763
AFTER THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WAR.

(ACCORDING TO PEACE OF PARIS)

The North American continent was now divided between England and Spain, the one a strong power and the other a declining one, but as the settlements of each were far distant from those of the other, no early clashing of interests was likely. The English could expand in all directions, and the colonists, north, south, and west, feared no foe except the scattered Indian tribes.

North America divided between England and Spain.

The worst horrors of the war had been experienced by the colonists. Most of the money to carry it on had been voted by their Assemblies, and their representatives had laid the heavy taxes which had been necessary in order to raise the large sums needed. All the colonies had taken part in the struggle, and they believed success was largely due to their efforts. They had become better acquainted with one another, had learned their own strength, and were led more and more to depend upon themselves, and to look less and less for aid to the mother country. Prominent Frenchmen and others saw these things at the time, and said that, in giving up Canada, France was preparing the way for the independence of the English colonies. Benjamin Franklin, though one of the shrewdest of men, thought otherwise.

Effect of the war on the colonists.

82. Conspiracy of Pontiac. (1763-1769.) Before the English were secure in their new possessions, there was a war (1763-1766) with the Indians. This was the result of the so-called "Conspiracy of Pontiac." Pontiac was an Ottawa chief, one of the ablest of his race; a man who united the characteristics of the barbarian with the skill of a general; he had been an adherent of the French; he could not believe that they were defeated, but thought they would surely return. The Algonkin Indians, who had from early days been foes of the English, were greatly disturbed by the defeat of the French. The French were

Conspiracy of Pontiac, 1763-1766.

Meaning of
the English
rule.

traders rather than settlers, and they interfered with the Indians but little—in fact, the Indian looked upon the Frenchman as his friend. The Englishman, on the contrary, advanced into the wilderness to make a home for himself. Where he settled it soon became impossible for the Indians to live by the chase, for civilization destroys hunting-grounds. The rule of the English therefore meant to the Indian loss of occupation, loss of territory, loss of all that he most valued. Pontiac saw all this, and believed that there was a possibility that the English might be driven back. He persuaded a number of tribes to make a grand effort. He even succeeded in inducing one of the Six Nations (sect. 2), the hereditary foes of the Algonkins, to join the "Conspiracy." A number of English posts were surprised, and the garrisons put to death; frontier settlements were attacked; and, for a time, it seemed as if there would be a renewal of the horrors of the old Indian wars. But the Indians did not agree among themselves, and peace was made in 1766. Pontiac was assassinated by another Indian in 1769.

Failure of
the con-
spiracy.

SUMMARY.

About the middle of the eighteenth century a struggle began between the French and English for the control of America. The French held Canada and the great Mississippi Valley, but their number was comparatively small, as they were hunters and fur traders rather than settlers. The English colonists were about ten times as many as the French, and they had come to America to find homes.

The English claimed all the country westward to the Pacific. The conflict began in what is now western Pennsylvania. Virginia claimed this land, and Washington was an officer in a small band of militia sent to protect a fort at the junction of the Allegheny and Monongahela rivers. The French were too strong, and he was compelled to surrender, July 4, 1754. This expedition began the French and Indian or Fourth Intercolonial War.

Meanwhile the English colonies sent delegates to a convention at Albany, New York, to consider what should be done for their mutual protection. Here Franklin proposed his plan for the union of the colonies.

The first efforts of the English in the war were failures. Braddock, an English general, was killed and his army routed in advancing to attack Fort Du Quesne (Pittsburg). The skill of Washington saved the army from destruction.

Through the ability of William Pitt, the English armies were reorganized and the right men chosen to lead them. General Wolfe, by strategy, gained vantage ground near Quebec, and defeated the French general, Montcalm. Both generals were killed in the battle. The English soon gained Quebec. Later they were successful everywhere, and by treaty the French ceded to the English all their American possessions, except two small islands.

The colonists had taken a large part in the war and learned their strength. Freed from danger from all foes, except the Indians, the English settlers now had room to expand and opportunity to develop their resources.

Pontiac, an Indian chief, refused to believe that the French were beaten, and organized a conspiracy against the English, which was unsuccessful.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xxxvi.

CHAPTER V.

THE ENGLISH COLONIES.

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English colonies in 1763.

83. English Colonies in 1763; Political Condition. — The colonists now entered upon a new period of their history, one which was to lead them into independence of the mother country. This was a result few living at the middle of the eighteenth century could have foreseen.

Notwithstanding the wars, wealth had increased, and the population was about two million. Agriculture and commerce were flourishing, and even manufactures were springing up.

Forms of colonial government.

The thirteen colonies had many common interests and many striking differences. In their political condition there were three forms of government: (1) Royal: Massachusetts (sect. 57), New Hampshire, New York, New Jersey, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. (2) Charter: Rhode Island and Connecticut. (3) Proprietary: Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland. In all of these the people chose assemblies or legislatures which made local laws and provided for raising the taxes. The two charter colonies were almost independent. In the

proprietary colonies the proprietor, who took the place of the king, had little more than nominal power. In the royal colonies, the governor was appointed by the crown, and the people were subjected to more restrictions. All the colonies were really more or less independent of the mother country in everything except foreign affairs, which, up to 1765, by almost universal consent belonged to the English government.

84. Domestic Life and Manners. (1763.)—In domestic life and manners there was more difference than in political matters. New England still retained many Puritan ideas and customs. Few class distinctions existed, and wealth was more equally distributed than elsewhere in the colonies.

Domestic
life and
manners.

New
England.

In New York and New Jersey the Dutch influence was still manifest. The patroons along the Hudson River kept up a style of living suited to their large estates, while the city of New York had already become a commercial centre, though inferior in population to either Philadelphia or Boston. Pennsylvania, perhaps the most prosperous of the colonies, was one of



New York.

Pennsyl-
vania.

COSTUMES OF THE DUTCH.

the most conservative. Philadelphia was the largest city in the colonies, and at this time the most handsomely built; its regular streets, public squares, and well-paved sidewalks were the admiration of visitors and the pride of

the citizens. Its population was about twenty-five thousand, that of Boston being slightly less.

The northern part of Maryland resembled Pennsylvania and Delaware, but the southern part was like Virginia and the Carolinas, where there were few towns and villages. The southern planter, surrounded by his slaves, lived upon his plantation, several miles from his next white neighbor. All manual labor was performed by slaves under the direction of an "overseer." Tobacco was the chief crop, for the cultivation of cotton had not yet been made

Southern
colonies.



OLD LONDON TAVERN IN PHILADELPHIA.

profitable by the invention of the cotton-gin. Many of the planters sent their sons abroad to be educated, but all except the richer class were much behind the middle and northern colonies in education.

Local self-
government.

Whatever their condition, all the colonies were accustomed to local self-government, and were a unit on the question of taxation without representation. Independence of Great Britain was, however, hardly dreamed of, except by a few enthusiasts, who were thought fanatical.

85. English Policy. (1763-1765.)—England, soon after the treaty of peace had been signed, made arrangements for the government of the conquered territory in America. Three new provinces were established: Quebec, and East and West Florida. The southern boundary of Quebec was nearly the same as the present northern boundary of the United States from the coast of Maine to Lake Champlain. East Florida corresponded nearly with the state of Florida; while West Florida comprised the territory now included in the western part of Florida and the southern half of Alabama, of Mississippi, and of Louisiana as far as the Mississippi River. The vast region between the Great Lakes and the Floridas was to be held by the Indians. No English settlers were to take up any lands “west of the sources of rivers which flow into the Atlantic from the west and northwest.” Such a boundary line would begin at Lake Champlain and run west of the mountain ranges and nearly parallel to them as far as Florida.

English
policy.

Central
region.

This disposition of the interior was very distasteful to all the colonists, who felt that they had a share in this territory which had been conquered by their aid. The arrangement, moreover, infringed upon the rights of some of the colonies, and these rights had been granted by their charters. England had incurred a large debt, the interest on which was a heavy burden. The British Parliament had seen that the Americans had raised much money to carry on the late war, and naturally thought that they should bear a part of the national burden. The Parliament laid taxes upon the British people; why not lay taxes upon the Americans? There was, however, a difference between the two cases. In England, law-makers were, or professed to be, elected by the people to represent them, so the people had a voice in laying their own

Parliament
plans to tax
America.

taxes. The colonies were not represented in the British Parliament; if Parliament laid taxes upon them there would be "taxation without representation," which was contrary to the customs and principles of the colonists.

Economic
views of the
eighteenth
century.

86. Economic Views of the Eighteenth Century; Navigation Acts. — It is needful to remember that in the eighteenth century many views different from those now accepted were held by the most liberal-minded men. It was thought essential to control and regulate trade in every way; it was deemed good policy to close ports against all foreign shipping; and that colonies existed for the good of the mother country was an axiom of most governments. It was acknowledged even in the colonies that the king had power to veto bills of the colonial legislatures, and that Parliament had the right to regulate all foreign trade.

Navigation
Acts.

As early as 1646 and 1651 Navigation Acts had been passed. These laws, and others passed in 1660, 1663, and 1672, forbade the colonies to trade with any country but England, or an English colony; they required that all commerce should be carried on in English or colonial vessels, thus shutting out all competition, and forcing all foreign goods to come through the English market and be subject to the English duties. By 1663 so many ships had been built in the colonies that, to protect the British ship-builders, a new law was passed forbidding the colonists to import any goods except in British-built ships. This restriction did not apply to ships built or bought before October, 1662.

Restrictions
upon trade.

87. Restrictions upon Trade and Manufactures. (1699–1761.) — The colonial trade also was burdened with heavy restrictions. In William and Mary's reign there was interference with the colonial manufactures which were beginning to be established. It was in this reign, or later, that

the exportation, and in some cases even the manufacture, of hats, paper, leather, iron, and other articles was absolutely forbidden (sect. 63). It is true that frequently these laws were not enforced; for years many of the government officers had not attempted to carry them out, while others were bribed to ignore them.

In 1761 a serious effort was made to carry out the Navigation Acts, particularly in relation to illicit trade or smuggling, and many additional revenue officers were appointed. The officers found that smuggling was extensive; to stop this and gain evidence concerning it, they applied to the courts for "writs of assistance" to aid them in their search for smuggled goods. These writs were warrants permitting the revenue officers to search any house for goods, on suspicion only. The writs "governed all men, were returnable nowhere, gave the officers absolute power, and opened every man's house to their entrance." It was most natural that the colonists should look upon them as illegal. James Otis, a young, able, and eloquent lawyer, appeared before the Superior Court of Massachusetts as the people's advocate, and in the course of his argument used the now familiar phrase, "Taxation without representation is tyranny." The judges held back their decision until they could learn the practice in England, and finding that such writs were legal there, were forced to affirm their legality in America. The question of legality, however, made no difference in respect to the feeling with which they were regarded by the colonists. It does not appear that the officers ever dared to make use of the writs.

Writs of
assistance,
1761.

"Taxation
without
representa-
tion is
tyranny."

88. Representation in England. (1761.)—In considering the relations between England and the colonies, it must be remembered that the English government at this time was corrupt, and that bribery was recognized, even by the

House of
Commons
not repre-
sentative.

officers of state, as a regular means of securing legislation. The House of Commons no longer really represented the English people, for in a population of about 8,000,000, there were less than 175,000 voters. The election districts had not been changed for a long time, large cities had grown up without any representation at all, and other districts represented a very small population. In one place, Old Sarum, three voters elected two members of Parliament.¹ Many members of Parliament were chosen according to the wishes of those of the nobility who were large landlords, and who controlled the votes of their tenants. Indeed, for a good part of the eighteenth century the House of Commons was ruled by the House of Lords.

Most of the measures of Parliament relating to the colonies were fairly in accord with the spirit of the age, and were not opposed to the common sentiments of the people; neither the English people nor Parliament itself understood the real state of affairs.

89. Stamp Act. (1765.)—Hurtful as the navigation laws (sect. 86) had been, the colonies did not dispute the right of Parliament to regulate foreign commerce. In 1764, at the suggestion of George Grenville, then Prime Minister, an act was passed providing an additional tax on commerce, in the way of increased duties and increased restriction on trade. This act met with great disfavor in America, particularly in Massachusetts, the greatest trading colony in America. Unavailing remonstrances were sent to England.

Grenville
Acts, 1764.

Stamp Act,
1765.

The celebrated Stamp Act, passed by Parliament in 1765, went still further. This was a measure designed to raise a

¹ The great William Pitt entered Parliament (1735) as a member for Old Sarum, owing his election to the influence of the noble landowner of that district.

revenue in the colonies. The act, passed early in the year, was to go into effect on the first day of November. Under its provisions every legal document, every marriage certificate, every newspaper and almanac, was to bear a stamp before it could be issued, or, in the case of legal papers, be of any force. Such a law affected every one who wished to buy even a newspaper, for he was compelled to pay for the stamp as well as the paper. The value of the stamp varied, according to the circumstances, from one half-penny to twelve pounds. The stamps were not like the modern adhesive ones, but were impressions on the paper like a magistrate's seal.

Stamp Act,
1765.



STAMPS USED IN 1765.

90. **Sons of Liberty; Patrick Henry.** (1765.)—There was little opposition to the passage of the Stamp Act in Parliament, Colonel Isaac Barré making the only strong speech against it. Barré repudiated the idea that the colonists owed anything to English care, and said that her neglect had stimulated them. This speech, as well as others, gained for him the admiration of the Americans. On another occasion he called them "Sons of Liberty"; and they adopted the title.

"Sons of
Liberty."

If the Stamp Act attracted little opposition or notice in England, it was far otherwise in America. Remonstrances

Patrick
Henry.

were forwarded to England, speeches were made against it, and all the colonial assemblies denied the right of Parliament thus to tax the colonies without their consent. In May, 1765, Patrick Henry, in the Virginia assembly, introduced a series of resolutions against the act. In his speech supporting them he said: "Tarquin and Cæsar had each a Brutus; Charles I., his Cromwell; and George the Third" . . . he paused. "Treason," shouted the Speaker, and the word was echoed from every part of the house.



PATRICK HENRY IN THE VIRGINIA ASSEMBLY.

After the painting by A. Chappel.

while Henry, with his eye fixed on the Speaker, closed the sentence, "may profit by their example. If this be treason, make the most of it." The resolutions were passed by a small majority.

Stamped
paper
destroyed.

Associations called "Sons of Liberty" were formed all over the country to keep up the agitation. When the stamped paper came to America, it was seized and destroyed, and those who had accepted office as stamp distributors were forced to resign. The time came for the act to go into operation, but there were neither stamps nor officers. This strong resistance had not been antici-

pated by friends of America, perhaps not by many Americans. Benjamin Franklin had not approved of the act, yet he counselled submission, and even suggested the names of persons whom he thought suitable for stamp distributors, while Richard Henry Lee applied for such an office for himself.

91. Stamp Act Congress. (1765.)—An important result of the Stamp Act in America was the occasion it gave for the meeting of the "Stamp Act Congress" in New York, in October, 1765. The idea seems to have been suggested in Massachusetts, Virginia, and South Carolina at about the same time. To this congress, all the colonies except New Hampshire, Virginia, North Carolina, and Georgia sent delegates; and though these colonies were not represented, they were in sympathy with the movement. The congress discussed the state of affairs, issued addresses to the king and Parliament, and made a declaration of rights. These papers are able, and their language admits of no doubtful interpretation. While declaring that Parliament had no right to tax the colonies without their consent, no sentiment of disloyalty to the crown was expressed. The Americans did not object to the stamps, but to the principle which they represented — Taxation without representation.

Stamp Act
Congress,
1765.

92. Repeal of the Stamp Act. (1766.)—The news of the failure of the Stamp Act in America caused great surprise to the English government. English merchants, who were suffering an alarming loss of trade, petitioned Parliament to repeal the law; for the determination not to obey the act had been followed by an agreement not to use any English goods. Franklin, who had been summoned before the House of Commons to give his opinion on the state of affairs in America, had told them that

Repeal of
Stamp Act,
1766.

William Pitt. the Americans would never submit. William Pitt, in the House of Commons, said, "I rejoice that America has resisted"; but he also said: "I assert the authority of this kingdom over the colonists to be sovereign and supreme in every circumstance of government and legislation whatever. . . . Taxation is no part of the legislative or governing power. Taxes are a voluntary gift and grant of the Commons alone." Moved by all these things, Parli-

Declaratory
Act.



"This lantern was on the northwest bough (opposite Frog Lane) of the Liberty Tree illuminated last night with several hundred lanterns on the arrival of the news of the Repeal of the Infamous Stamp Act. — GEORGE GRENVILLE, Boston, May 21, 1770." From the Bostonian Society's Collection.

England de-
termined to
tax the
colonists.

ment, in 1766, repealed the Stamp Act, but at the same time passed a Declaratory Act, setting forth that "the crown, with the advice and consent of Parliament," "had, hath, and of right ought to have, full power and authority to make laws and statutes of sufficient force and validity to bind the colonies and peoples of America, subjects of the crown of Great Britain, in all cases whatever."

93. Real Object of the Taxation. (1766.)

—In their joy at the repeal of the obnoxious measure, the colonists at first overlooked the Declaratory Act. But England was not disposed to let the colonists alone. She was burdened with debt, she had spent much for the colonies, and thought the colonies ought to bear their share of the expense. It is important to remember that the purpose of this taxation was not to help pay the expenses of the government at home, nor was it to help pay the interest on the debt; all the expected revenue was to be spent in or for the colonies themselves. There were two main sources of expense in the colonies; first, that for the defence of the frontier against the Indians, including building of forts and main-

taining them; second, the salaries of the colonial governors, and other necessary outlays.

94. Objections of the Colonists. (1766.) — The need of these expenses could hardly be questioned by the colonists. The grounds of their objections were that the money was to be raised without their consent, and the taxes laid by a body in which they had no representation. Such acts, they claimed, were an infringement of their rights as Englishmen. They feared that if they should give up this point, there would be nothing to prevent tyrannical government, and that they should soon be forced to contribute to the general expenses of England.

Objections
of the
colonists.

In 1765 an act had been passed requiring the colonists to support troops which should be quartered among them; this was known as the Quartering Act. Massachusetts refused to obey this, and so did New York. Aside from the vexed question of taxation, this act aimed to make them pay for enforcing what they already deemed illegal and tyrannical; it was therefore doubly repulsive.

Quartering
Act, 1765.

95. The Townshend Acts. (1767.) — Though Parliament had repealed the Stamp Act, it was only because its continuance, as was declared in the repealing act, "would be attended with many inconveniences, and detrimental to the commercial interests of the kingdom." The government was still determined to get a revenue out of the colonies. An act was passed, forbidding all trade with certain West India islands. This trade had been very profitable, and the prohibition was not only a cause of irritation, but also of heavy losses, especially in Massachusetts. Two acts, passed in 1767, known from their author, Charles Townshend, as the "Townshend Acts," legalized "writs of assistance," and provided for the better carrying out of the laws of trade, and for laying duties on glass, paper, colors, and

Townshend
Acts, 1767.

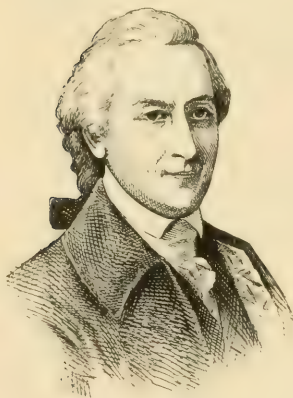
teas. The revenue raised was to be used for defraying the expenses of colonial government and for the defence of the colonies. The New York Assembly, which had refused to vote supplies for the English troops sent over, was suspended until it was willing to pass such a measure. The question of submission was now clearly before the colonists; there was no putting it off or evading it.

Farmer's
Letters,
1767.

96. The "Farmer's Letters." (1767.)—The Townshend Acts, passed in the summer, were not to go into force until the late fall; there was time for the colonists to consider what should be done. As in the case of the Stamp Act, resolutions of non-importation were agreed upon, and efforts were made to encourage home manufactures. This system of "boycott" was warmly upheld, even by conservative men.

The action of the colonists was greatly influenced by the

publication and circulation of a series of "Letters from a farmer in Pennsylvania," in which the whole situation was clearly, forcibly, and calmly reviewed. This "farmer" was John Dickinson, of Pennsylvania, a young man of wealth and education and of great ability. In these letters he expressed what the most thoughtful men of all classes believed, when he said: "Let these truths be indelibly impressed upon our minds: that we cannot be happy, without



JOHN DICKINSON.

John
Dickinson.

"We cannot
be happy
without
being free."

being free; that we cannot be free, without being secure in our property; that we cannot be secure in our property

if, without our consent, others may, as by right, take it away; that taxes imposed upon us by Parliament, do thus take it away; that duties laid for the sole purpose of raising money are taxes; that attempts to lay such duties should be instantly and firmly opposed; that this opposition can never be effectual unless it be the united effort of these provinces." On these principles the subsequent conduct of the colonies was largely based.

97. Continued Resistance in the Colonies. (1767-1770.)
—Peaceable refusal to use imported goods was very general. The exports to the colonies from England between 1767 and 1769 showed a heavy decline; those sent to New England fell off more than one-half; while those to New York were not more than one-sixth of their former amount.

Non-importation carried out.

The presence of British officers and troops in America made it almost impossible to avoid collisions. Members of Parliament and those in authority, were misled by letters from royal officers in America who confidently asserted that continued firmness would put an end to the obstinacy of the colonists. Besides this, the petitions of the colonists themselves expressed loyalty to the king and an affection for his person, even while refusing obedience to exactions which they believed to be illegal. Granting these points, there remained much ignorance regarding the character of the Americans.

British ignorant of the character of the colonists.

In the spring of 1768 several men of Boston were seized¹ and made to serve as seamen in the British navy. This was not treating the colonists differently from Englishmen, but impressment in the colonies had not been

¹ This was called impressment; the practice was long kept up in England, and impressment of American sailors was one of the causes of the War of 1812 (sect. 183).

Seizure of
the *Liberty*.

resorted to, and it was looked upon as an outrage. Not very long after this a sloop *Liberty*, belonging to John Hancock, a wealthy citizen of Boston, was seized without legal warrant, for alleged violation of the revenue laws.

Troops
quartered in
Boston.



JOHN HANCOCK.

After the portrait by Copley, 1774, in
Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

"Boston
Massacre,"
1770.

JOHN HANCOCK was born in Massachusetts, 1737, and was educated at Harvard College. He became a merchant and one of the wealthy men of America. He was president of the Provincial Congress in 1774, and president of the Continental Congress, 1775-1777. His clear bold signature to the Declaration of Independence is well known. He was governor of Massachusetts for several terms. He was popular, eloquent, and a good presiding officer. He died, 1793.

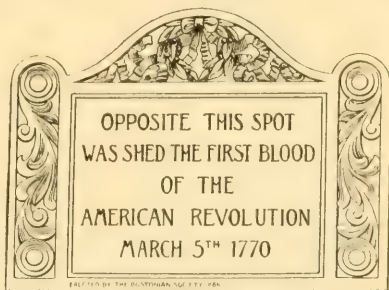
The seizure was the occasion of a small riot, which forced the revenue officers to take refuge on a ship of war lying in the harbor.

The news of the *Liberty* incident decided the English government to send troops to Boston and quarter them in the city. In the state of feeling which then existed in that city it is not strange that an encounter between the troops and citizens occurred. This collision, which took place March 5, 1770, is known as the "Boston Massacre." Fear of a general uprising of the people induced the governor to remove the troops from the city. Seven months later, the soldiers who had fired upon the crowd were

tried in the civil courts on the charge of murder. John Adams and Josiah Quincy, two patriotic young lawyers, anxious that justice should be done, consented to defend them. All the accused were acquitted of the charge of murder; two, however, were convicted of manslaughter and condemned to be branded in the hand with a red-

hot iron. The sentence was executed in open court, and all the prisoners were discharged.

Small as the "Boston Massacre" was in itself, it was of great importance, in that it drew the attention of all the colonists in America to the question of quartering troops without the consent of the people. It showed some of the dangers of a military rule, and what might be experienced in other colonies.



TABLET COMMEMORATING THE BOSTON MASSACRE.

In State Street, Boston.

Another incident which stirred the colonists happened in Rhode Island. The *Gaspee*, an English revenue vessel, was stationed in Narragansett Bay for the purpose of enforcing the Navigation Acts. Her commander was needlessly rude and severe in the exercise of this commission. He did not confine himself to vessels, but landed at different places on the coast and seized cattle, sheep, hogs, and, indeed, anything that he pleased. This conduct caused great indignation among the people. The *Gaspee* happened to run aground. Very soon she was attacked by eight boats filled with men. Her crew was overpowered, set on shore, and the vessel and all she contained burned. Though large rewards were offered for the apprehension of those who took part in this deed, no one was ever reported to the authorities.

98. Removal of Taxes, except on Tea. (1770.) — George III. the Third had succeeded to the English throne in 1760. In the early years of his reign he was regarded with much

affection by his subjects both in England and America. Franklin himself in 1769 wrote: "I can scarcely conceive a king of better dispositions, or more exemplary virtues, or more truly desirous of promoting the welfare of all his subjects."

Ambition of
George III.

George the Third wished to be an absolute ruler—to be king in reality. He followed this aim with dogged perseverance. Favored by circumstances, he had succeeded by 1770 in getting the government into his own control or into that of men who would follow his wishes.

It was evident, even to King George, that the Townshend Acts could not be enforced. The colonists could not be compelled to buy goods, and the English merchants whose trade was ruined by the non-importation agreements in America, presented petition after petition for some relief from the restrictions on trade.

Taxes

removed ex-
cept upon
tea, 1770.

To conciliate the Americans the king proposed to remove all taxes except that upon tea. Though this tax brought in a revenue of but three hundred pounds a year, it was resolved to retain it, in order to vindicate the right of Parliament to tax the colonies. On the very day of the "Boston Massacre," Lord North, who had become Prime Minister, moved in the English House of Commons the repeal of all duties levied in America under the Townshend Acts, except that upon tea. The colonists, however, still refused to buy tea.

Committees
of corre-
spondence.

99. Committees of Correspondence. (1772.)—In 1772 Samuel Adams of Massachusetts, at a town meeting in Faneuil Hall, Boston, moved that committees of correspondence should be appointed in the different towns throughout the province, "to state the rights of the colonies, and of this province in particular; to communicate and publish the same to the several towns in this

province and to the world." This was done, and in the next year, Dabney Carr in Virginia proposed that committees of correspondence should be appointed throughout all the colonies in order to produce unity of action. The proposition was accepted; committees were soon appointed in six of the colonies, and later in the others.

Committees
of corre-
spondence,
1772.



Attempts to
enforce the
tea tax.

100. **Attempt to Force Tea upon America; "Boston Tea Party."** (1773.)—Owing, as was thought, to the refusal of the Americans to use tea coming from England, the East India Company had an enormous stock on hand in England. The affairs of the company were in disorder. To aid the company, it was provided (1773) that tea might be exported to America by the company free of English duties. The American import duty was fixed at threepence per pound. The Americans, who had been previously charged fivepence duty, were thus offered tea at a lower price than before, and at a lower price than even Englishmen paid. With the colonists, however, the question was not one of cost, but of principle. They continued the non-importation

SAMUEL ADAMS.

After the portrait by Copley, in Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

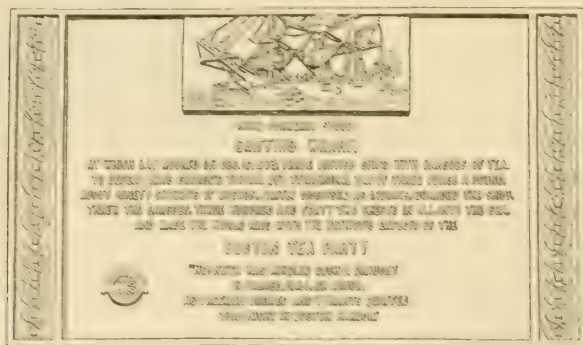
SAMUEL ADAMS, sometimes called "Father of the American Revolution," was born in Boston in 1722, and died there in 1803. When he took his master's degree at Harvard College in 1743, his oration showed why it is "lawful to resist the supreme magistrate, if the commonwealth cannot otherwise be preserved." He was one of the first to see the advantages of American independence of Great Britain, and as member of the colonial legislature, of the Continental Congress, and of numerous important committees, he exerted a powerful influence. Thomas Jefferson said of him: "I always considered him, more than any other member of the Continental Congress, the fountain of our more important measures."

agreement in respect to tea, and, as before, smuggled tea from Holland, though it cost them more than to buy it of the East India Company.

"Boston
Tea Party,"
1773.

Not receiving orders for tea, the company resolved to send out cargoes to Boston, New York, Philadelphia, Charleston, and some other places.

When the first of the vessels arrived at Boston, though it was Sunday, the committee of correspondence met, and gained from the agents of the East India Company a



TABLET COMMEMORATING THE BOSTON TEA PARTY.

In Atlantic Avenue, Boston.

promise that the tea should not be landed before the following Tuesday. On Monday a great meeting of citizens, held in the Old South Church, voted unanimously that the tea should be sent back to England without being unloaded. Meantime two more tea-laden ships arrived. The governor and British officers refused to allow the vessels to sail. Another mass meeting of citizens was held, at which it was again unanimously voted that the tea should not be landed. That night, before the nine o'clock bell rang, a party of reputable citizens, disguised as Indians, went on board the ships, took the chests out of the hold of

each vessel, and breaking them open, emptied the tea into the harbor. The "Boston Tea Party" took place December 16, 1773.

At Charleston, the tea was stored in damp cellars, where it soon spoiled. At Annapolis the tea was burned; at Philadelphia and New York, as well as at other places, ships with tea on board were ordered back to England.

101. The Five Intolerable Acts of Parliament. (1774.)—When the news of these doings reached England, the king and his advisors were very angry, and Parliament passed five acts aimed directly at the rebellious colonists, particularly the citizens of Boston. These acts were:—

(1) The Boston Port Bill: By this all commerce with the city was forbidden, no vessels being allowed to come in or go out. This was of course to punish the Boston people for their resistance to Parliament.

(2) The Transportation Bill: This allowed persons charged with murder in enforcing the law to be transported to another colony or to Great Britain for trial.

(3) The Massachusetts Bill: This practically revoked the charter, in taking away from the Assembly all power of appointment, and giving it to the governor, who also had the power of removal. No public meetings, except for the election of representatives and petty officers, could be held, except by permission of the governor. These three acts were specially directed against Massachusetts.

Other "Tea Parties."

Five Intolerable Acts, 1774.

Boston Port Bill.

Transportation Bill.

Massachusetts Bill.

To the Public.

THE long expected TEA SHIP arrived last night at Sandy-Hook, but the pilot would not bring up the Captain till the fence of the city was known. The committee were immediately informed of her arrival, and that the Captain solicits for liberty to come up to provide necessaries for his return. The ship to remain at Sandy-Hook. The committee conceiving it to be the fence of the city that he should have such liberty, signified it to the Gentleman who is to supply him with provisions, and other necessaries. Advice of this was immediately dispatched to the Captain, and whenever he comes up, care will be taken that he does not enter at the custom-house, and that no time be lost in dispatching him.

New-York, April 19, 1774

Quartering
Act.

(4) The Quartering Act: This legalized the quartering of troops in America.

Quebec Act.

(5) The Quebec Act: This reorganized the government of the Province of Quebec, and provided for the free exercise in Canada of the Roman Catholic religion. It extended the limits of the province so as to include the territory west of the Alleghanies, called the Indian country. As has been seen (sect. 85), the colonists felt that this territory belonged to them by right of conquest and by charter. In every one of these acts the colonists saw a

direct blow at their liberties. They felt that the cause of one colony was the cause of all.



EDMUND BURKE.

EDMUND BURKE was born in Ireland, 1730. He entered Parliament in 1766, and continued a member for nearly thirty years. He is one of the world's greatest orators. His most celebrated speech is that against Warren Hastings. Burke was a man of high personal character. He was the friend of Benjamin Franklin and of Dr. Samuel Johnson, Oliver Goldsmith, and other literary men. He was friendly to America, and urged that she should be treated with justice and conciliation. He died 1797.

Boston Port
Bill, 1774.

These acts were not passed without strong opposition in each house of Parliament. The government majorities, however, were too strong to be shaken even by the eloquence of Barré, Burke, Chatham, and Charles James Fox. In addition to the acts of Parliament, "royal instructions" were sent from the English cabinet direct to the colonial governors.

The Boston Port Bill was put in force June 1, 1774, the day appointed. Its effects were more severe than even

the framers of the act imagined they would be. Almost all the interests of Boston at that time were connected with

the sea. Ship-building, commerce, and fishing were the means of livelihood for most of its citizens. Almost all its supplies came to it by water, and the chief means of communication with the surrounding villages was by boat, as there were no bridges. The law forbade anything to be brought to the city or taken from it by water — not a sheep, not an ox, not a bale of hay, not a fish, not even a bundle. Fish sent by the people of Marblehead to the suffering poor of Boston had to be carried thirty miles by land. The condition of the city was indeed a hard one.

102. Virginia proposes a General Congress. (1774.) Boston Port Bill. (1774.) — The Virginia House of Burgesses protested against the Boston Port Bill, and made the day on which it was to go into effect a day of fasting; they implored “the Divine interposition” to give them “one heart and one mind firmly to oppose, by all just and proper means, every injury to American rights.” On this, the governor immediately dissolved the house. But the members held a meeting, at which they resolved that an attack upon one of the colonies was an attack upon all, and that the committee of correspondence should consult the committees of the other colonies on the expediency of holding a general congress. This measure was approved by all the colonies, and, at the request of New York, Massachusetts appointed Philadelphia as the place of meeting, and September 1, 1774, as the time. Delegates were appointed in all the colonies except Georgia, where the governor prevented the assembly from choosing them.

While the delegates were being chosen, news was received of the passage of the four acts immediately succeeding the passage of the Boston Port Bill (sect. 101). It excited the liveliest apprehension. Resolutions stamping these measures as “unconstitutional, oppressive, and dangerous to

Virginia
proposes a
congress,
1774.

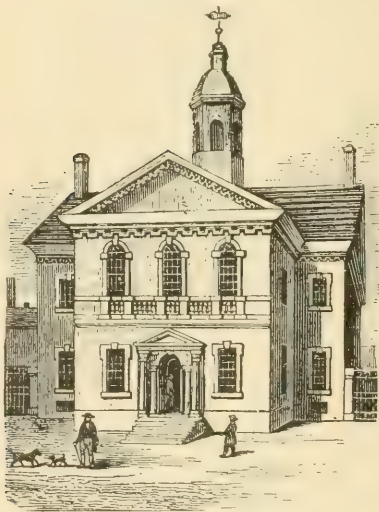
Congress to
meet at
Philadel-
phia, 1774.

Meetings
held to pro-
test against
“Acts.”

the American colonies" were passed in Pennsylvania; in Virginia, at a meeting of citizens over which George Washington presided, similar ones were passed; and another added declaring that they "would religiously maintain and inviolably adhere to such measures as should be concerted by the general congress for the preservation of their lives, liberties, and fortunes." Like meetings were held in other colonies. There was a general agreement beforehand to abide by the decisions of the congress.

Meanwhile help was sent to suffering Boston. Rice came from South Carolina, money from Virginia and North Carolina, sheep from Connecticut, and supplies of all kinds from other parts of New England. Encouragement to stand firm was sent from every quarter.

Boston
helped.



First Conti-
nental Con-
gress, 1774.

CARPENTER'S HALL, 1774.

103. The First Continental Congress. (1774.) — The Congress known as the first Continental (general) Congress, met September 5, 1774, at Philadelphia, in Carpenter's Hall, a building still in good preservation. There were fifty-five delegates present,

every colony except Georgia being represented. It was a very able body, the colonies having sent their best men: George Washington, Patrick Henry, and Richard Henry Lee, from Virginia; Samuel Adams and John Adams, from

Able men in
Congress.

Massachusetts; John Rutledge and Christopher Gadsden, from South Carolina; and John Jay, from New York, were among the number. These delegates were chosen in various ways; some by committees, some by the assemblies, and others by conventions.

The Congress acted with caution, professing loyalty to the king. It issued an address to the people of the colonies; one to the Canadians; one to the people of Great Britain; and one to the king. A declaration of rights was also drawn up, and an agreement not to import, export, or use British goods. The declaration recited the various objectionable acts of the British government, and asserted that, if force were used to compel the people of Massachusetts to obey, "all America ought to support them in their opposition." After providing for another Congress to meet on the 10th of the following May, the Congress adjourned, October 26, 1774.

Addresses issued.

Declaration of rights.

104. Whigs and Tories; Resistance. (1775.)—Before this time two distinct parties had arisen in the country, the one called Tory, which supported the British government, or at least objected to resistance; the other, called Whig, which approved of resistance by force, if needful. The names came into use in America in 1764, and were taken from British politics, where, however, they had somewhat different meanings.

Whigs and Tories.

While the Congress was in session, the people of the colonies generally were collecting arms for use in case of necessity. The charter government of Massachusetts had been overthrown by the governor, and the real direction of affairs was in the hands of a Provincial Congress. By the order of this body arms and ammunition were collected at various points, and twenty thousand "minute-men," so called because they were to be ready at a minute's

Military arms collected.

Minute-men.

British
fortify
Boston,
1775.

notice, were enrolled. General Gage, the royal governor and the commander of the British forces in the colonies, hearing of these proceedings, began to fortify Boston on the land side. Learning that there was a considerable amount of gunpowder and military stores at Concord, about twenty miles from Boston, he determined to seize it. He had been ordered by the British government to arrest Samuel Adams and John Hancock, and send them to England to be tried for treason.

New-York, May 8, 1775.

Extract of a Letter

From Philadelphia,

To a Gentleman in this City, dated the 6th inst.

YESTERDAY evening Dr FRANKLIN arrived here from London in six weeks, which he left the 20th of March, which has given great joy to this town, he says we have no favours to expect from the Ministry, nothing but submission will satisfy them, they expect little or no opposition will be made to their troops, those that are now coming are for New-York, where it is expected they will be received with cordiality. As near as we can learn there are about four thousand troops coming in the fleet, the men of war and transports are in a great measure loaded with dry goods, to supply New-York, and the country round it, agents are coming over with them. Dr Franklin is highly pleased to find us arming and preparing for the worst events, he thinks nothing else can save us from the most abject slavery and destruction, at the same time encourages us to believe a spirited opposition, will be the means of our salvation. The Ministry are alarmed at every opposition, and lifted up again at every thing which appears the least in their favour, every letter and every paper from hence, are read by them.

STANDARD OF THE PRESS

N. F. F. - Y. O. R. K.
Printed by JOHN ANDERSON, at Beckman's-Shop

Paul
Revere.

Paul
Revere's
Ride.

They were now at Lexington.

105. *Lexington and Concord.*
(1775.) — Though Gage's preparations had been made with great secrecy they were discovered, and Dr. Joseph Warren, a leading patriot in Boston, sent Paul Revere to warn Adams and Hancock of their danger.

It had already been agreed, that if British troops should start by land, one lantern should be hung from the steeple of the old North Church in Boston,

but if by water, two lanterns should be shown. Paul Revere left at ten in the evening before the proposed march of the British troops; he was rowed over the Charles River, and when he landed, he saw two lights flashing across the water. A strong horse was waiting for him; he sprang into the saddle and galloped off. As he dashed along he roused the "minute-men" all the way to Lexington, where Adams and Hancock were, and then hastened on toward Concord. When told by some one that he was making too much noise, he replied, "You'll

have noise enough here before long ; the regulars are coming out ! ” They were indeed not far behind the rider, but when the eight hundred British troops reached Lexington, early in the morning of April 19, 1775, the “ minute-men ” were waiting for them. On their refusal to disperse at the order of the British commander, they were fired upon and returned the fire. At Concord only part of the arms and ammunition was found ; this was destroyed.

Minute-men
at Lexington.

On the return march to Boston, the British troops were exposed to a galling fire from behind rocks, walls, fences, and houses. The retreat soon became a rout, until the British were reinforced by other troops from Boston. The fire of the minute-men did not cease until the troops were under cover of the guns of the war-ships in the harbor. In the battle of Lexington, as this skirmish is called, the loss of the minute-men was about one hundred ; the British lost nearly three times as many.

At once the Assembly of Massachusetts declared that General Gage

“ ought to be considered and guarded against as an unnatural and inveterate foe to the country.” Thousands of minute-men hastened to Boston, which was soon in a state of siege. A month after this, Ethan Allen, a colonel of the Vermont militia, or the “ Green Mountain Boys,” surprised Ticonderoga and captured it. War had begun.

Concord,
April 19,
1775.



British rout.

STATUE OF THE MINUTE-MAN AT CONCORD.

BY THE RUDE BRIDGE THAT
ARCHED THE FLOOD,
THEIR FLAG TO APRIL'S
BREEZE UNFURLED,
HERE ONCE THE EMBATTLED
FARMERS STOOD,
AND FIRED THE SHOT HEARD
ROUND THE WORLD.

War begun.

SUMMARY.

Three forms of government existed in America: Royal, Charter, and Proprietary. Each colony had a legislature chosen by the people, and was more or less independent. There was much difference between the colonies in social life and customs.

England, after the peace with France, rearranged Canada, and, regardless of the charters of the colonies, reserved the territory between the Alleghanies and the Mississippi River for the Indians. She began to tax the colonists, enforce the Navigation Acts, and place many restrictions upon trade.

The passage of the British Stamp Act raised the greatest opposition in the colonies. It could not be enforced, and it was repealed. The Stamp Act was followed by the Townshend Acts. The colonists passed non-importation resolutions. A collision with the British troops occurred in Boston in 1770. Continued non-importation of British goods led to repeal of taxes except upon tea. An attempt to force tea upon America failed.

Parliament passed five "intolerable" acts. The Boston Port Bill, put in force June 1, 1774, brought matters to a crisis. The first Continental Congress met 1774. At Lexington and Concord, April 19, 1775, the first battle was fought, and the Revolution was begun.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xxxviii.



FROM A BROADSIDE IN THE COLLECTION OF THE BOSTONIAN SOCIETY.

CHAPTER VI.

THE REVOLUTION.

REFERENCES.

J. Fiske, *The War of Independence*; T. W. Higginson, *Larger History of the United States*; A. B. Hart, *Source-Book*, Chap. ix.; S. A. Drake, *Burgoyne's Invasion of 1777*; H. C. Wright, *Stories of American Progress*, Chap. i.

106. Second Continental Congress; Washington Commander-in-Chief. (1775.)—The first Congress had deliberated and issued documents; the time for action had now come. The second Continental Congress met in Philadelphia, May 10, 1775, the day Ticonderoga was taken. It resolved to take up the cause of Massachusetts as the cause of the colonies; it accepted the army of minute-men around Boston as the Continental army, and, at the suggestion of John Adams, appointed George Washington of Virginia commander-in-chief.

Second
Congress,
1775.

Washington
commander-
in-chief.

Washington was one of the delegates present; he was, from his part in the French and Indian War, already known throughout the colonies as a successful military man; he had been fifteen years a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, and had been a member of the first Continental Congress, where he had made a great impression by his "solid information and sound sense." He was forty-three years old, and in the prime of his powers. On his acceptance of the position of commander, he

refused pay for his services, though reserving the right to be paid for his expenses. At the close of the war he presented his account neatly kept, and in his own handwriting.

Congress
issues paper
money.

The Congress provided for the expenses of the army by issuing \$2,000,000 in paper money.

At first thought it may seem strange that the colonists should attempt to fight against England, one of the strongest countries in the world. But England was far away, and it took a long time to cross the ocean in the slow-sailing vessels. All the troops and most of the supplies would have to be brought from Europe at great expense of time and money. Canada, which refused to join the United Colonies, was of little aid to England, for she was separated from the other colonies by forests hundreds of miles wide, which were for troops almost impassable.

Canada
little aid to
Great
Britain.

Besides this, the American armies were made up of intelligent men fighting for a principle and for their homes. They were, moreover, fighting on the defensive, and under such circumstances, fewer men are needed, as the invading army not only must attack, but also must hold the country it may conquer. The invader also has to look out for his supplies, as it is seldom safe to rely upon the enemy's country for the support of his troops.

Bunker
Hill, 1775.

107. Bunker Hill. (1775.)—Before Washington could reach Boston, there had been some hard fighting. General Gage had planned to fortify Bunker Hill in Charlestown, on the Charles River opposite Boston. General Artemas Ward, the commander of the Massachusetts troops, learned this, and sent a detachment of troops under Colonel William Prescott, on the evening of June 16, to occupy the hill and throw up intrenchments. Breed's Hill

was chosen instead, and by morning the astonished British saw lines of earthworks on the hill before them. General Gage sent three thousand troops across the river to dislodge the Americans. The British were twice repulsed, with heavy loss; their third assault was successful; the ammunition of the Americans had given out, and they were compelled to retreat. The loss on each side was very heavy. Among the killed on the American side was General Joseph Warren, one of the ablest men in the country. The battle of Bunker Hill confirmed the colonists in the course they had taken.

Battle of
Bunker
Hill, June
17, 1775.



A CONTINENTAL SOLDIER (NORTH).

After the picture by A. Chap-
pel.

Washington
takes com-
mand,
July 3, 1775.

108. Boston Evacuated; Canada.
(1775-1776.)—Washington arrived at the headquarters of the army at Cambridge, and, under a great elm tree which is still standing, assumed command, July 3, 1775. His difficulties were very great. There was hardly any ammunition; the men, unused to military life, were becoming weary of the hardships they had to endure; they did not like the strict discipline of the camp; and they were enlisted only for short periods. Washington found the army fully one-third smaller than it had been. In spite of these difficulties, he maintained the siege of Boston and at the same time drilled his troops.

Early in March, 1776, thinking it time to make an attack, he seized Dorchester Heights, on the south of the city, and fortified them before the British could prevent him. The British, fearing to attack these intrenchments, evacuated the city, March 17, 1776. Massachusetts now was clear of British troops.

Boston
evacuated,
1776.

Canada
refuses to
join the
Americans.

In the hope of getting the Canadians to join them, the colonists sent an expedition to capture the British strongholds in Canada. They were successful in taking Montreal, but the attack upon Quebec was a total failure, and the Americans were driven out of Canada. The refusal of Canada to make common cause with the colonies was mainly due to three reasons: first, the English population was small; second, by the Quebec Act, the French had been confirmed in many of their old rights and privileges and had no cause for grievance; and third, Canada was separated from the other colonies by forests almost impenetrable, except in a few places where there were natural passageways.

King and
colonists.

100. The King and the Colonists. (1776.)—Meanwhile, George III. had refused to hear, or even to receive, the petition sent to him by the second Congress, and had issued a proclamation against rebellion and sedition. Parliament supported the king by authorizing him to send forces to America and to hire troops of Hanover, Brunswick, and Hesse-Cassel. Trade with certain of the colonies was forbidden, a prohibition afterward extended to all.

There was now presented the curious spectacle of a Congress fighting against the armies of the king, and exercising many of the powers of an independent government, and yet protesting that it had no wish for independence. The acts of the Congress in allowing the colonies to form their own governments, authorizing British war vessels or transports to be captured, opening the ports of the colonies to all nations, forbidding the slave trade, and appointing Franklin, Jay, and others to maintain intercourse with the "friends of the colonies in Great Britain and elsewhere," could lead only to independence or complete submission.

On the 1st of January, 1776, a flag of a new design was adopted as the ensign of the united colonies, having, in addition to the British union, thirteen alternate stripes of red and white.¹

Colonial
flag, 1776.



Origin of
the states.

COLONIAL FLAG, 1776.

110. Origin of the States. — In October, 1775, New Hampshire applied to the Continental Congress to be allowed to set up a government of its own, and in November the people of that colony were advised to “establish such a form of government as in their judgment will best promote the happiness of the people, and most effectually secure peace and good order in the province.” South Carolina and Virginia received similar advice. Rhode Island, by act of her legislature, relieved her citizens from allegiance to the king. In Virginia and other colonies, the royal governors fled. So that, one after another, the several colonies, either by advice of Congress or by their own action, set up governments of their own. It needed little change to turn the colonial governments into states, little more in fact than to take from the crown the choice

¹ The British union of two crosses indicated allegiance to the king. June 14, 1777, this union was changed to a blue field with thirteen stars. This flag was probably first unfurled August 3, 1777, at Fort Schuyler (now Rome), New York. The first battle in which it was used was probably the Battle of Brandywine, September 11, 1777. In 1795, two stars and two stripes were added for Kentucky and Vermont, but it was seen that the addition of a stripe for each new state would make a very ill-proportioned banner; in 1818, the number of the stripes was reduced to thirteen, with the provision that a new star should be added for every new state admitted. This is done on the 4th of July succeeding its admission. Since the adoption of this flag, nearly every other nation has either changed its national ensign or made important alterations in it, so that the American flag is now one of the oldest national banners.

History of
the flag.

of the governor and give it to the people or to the legislatures; in Rhode Island and Connecticut no change was needed except to cease giving allegiance to the king. Such was the origin of the states.

Mecklen-
burg Reso-
lutions,
May 31,
1775.

111. **Mecklenburg Resolutions; Feeling in North Carolina and Virginia.** (1775-1776.)—One of the earliest formal declarations against the action of the king and Parliament took place at Charlotte, Mecklenburg County, North Carolina. On May 31, 1775, the committee of the county met and passed a series of resolutions, the most important of which declared that "all civil and military commissions granted by the crown" to be exercised in the colonies, are suspended; and that the "Provincial Congress of each province, under the direction of the great Continental Congress, is invested with all the legislative and executive powers within their respective provinces." A set of rules was drawn up, to be followed until the Congress should provide laws, or the legislative body of Great Britain "resign its unjust and arbitrary pretensions with respect to America." In April, 1776, North Carolina "empowered her delegates in the Continental Congress to concur with the delegates of the other colonies in declaring for independency," being "the first in America to vote an explicit sanction to independence." In Virginia, a convention in May instructed the delegates of that colony in the Congress "to propose to that respectable body, to declare the United Colonies free and independent states."

Steps
toward inde-
pendence.

"The colo-
nies ought
to be free."

112. **Declaration of Independence.** (1776.)—On Thursday, June 7, 1776, Richard Henry Lee, of Virginia, introduced a resolution in the Congress reciting "that these United Colonies are and of right ought to be free and independent states, that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political con-

nection between them and the state of Great Britain is, and ought to be, totally dissolved." This was seconded by John Adams. Other resolutions looking toward foreign alliances, and toward a "plan for confederation" for the colonies, were also introduced. After some debate, the consideration of the first resolution was postponed for a few weeks. This gave time for the delegates to find out the views of their constituents, and for the people to give expression to their wishes.

Colonies
desire inde-
pendence.

By the end of June, twelve of the colonies had in one way or another given voice to the wish for independence. On the 1st of July the debate was begun, and on the 2d, the resolution was carried; on the 4th, the Declaration of Independence was adopted by the Congress. It was a curious coincidence that the bell which was rung on the 8th of July in celebration of the measure bore the words, "Proclaim liberty throughout all the land unto all the inhabitants thereof" (Leviticus xxv. 10). The building in which the Congress sat received the name of Independence Hall.¹



Declaration
of Inde-
pendence,
July 4, 1776

LIBERTY BELL

To a committee of five, of which Thomas Jefferson and Benjamin Franklin were members, was intrusted the duty of preparing a statement of grievances, and of the resolutions of the Congress. The well-known document (see Appendix I.), adopted with but slight alteration, was largely the work of Thomas Jefferson. The ac-

¹ The building has been restored as nearly as possible to the condition in which it was at the passage of the Declaration. The "Liberty Bell," since cracked (sect. 241), is kept in the building.

tion of the Congress and the reading of the Declaration were not received with such universal rejoicing as those in later times have often thought. The truth was, that



INDEPENDENCE HALL, PHILADELPHIA, 1776.

Declaration
signed.

many, perhaps a majority, in the middle colonies did not wish for independence. In most of the other colonies the

people had gone faster than the Congress, which simply had recorded the popular desires when it issued the Declaration.



CHARLES THOMSON.

The original copy of the Declaration was signed by John Hancock, the president of the Congress, and by Charles Thomson, its secretary. The official copy on parchment, preserved at Washington, was signed by most of the members on the 2d of the following August, though others signed still later; one of the signers not being

a member when the vote was taken. While the signing was going on, John Hancock is reported to have said, "We must be unanimous; there must be no pulling different ways; we must hang together." "Yes," said Franklin, who was standing by, "we must all hang together, or else we all shall hang separately."

*and for the support of this declaration
we mutually pledge to each other our
lives our fortunes, & our sacred honour.*

John Hancock
Sam^l Adams John Lumsden

REDUCED COPY OF THE CON-
CLUDING OF THE DECLARA-
TION OF INDEPENDENCE.

In the writing of Jefferson, with the
first three signatures.

113. British Plans of Attack.

(1776.)—The British had left New England (sect. 108), but they had no intention of giving it up. They thought the middle

colonies a more promising field for attack. The people there were less eager for independence than were the people of New England, and much might be hoped from the loyalists both in the way of influence and of direct aid. By this action, also, the colonies could be divided, and as they had no navy, it might be effectual in separating the northern and southern colonies. Moreover, the Hudson River, for a long distance, was the main route to Canada, and was a dividing line between New England and the rest of the country. In June an army under Gen. Howe came from Halifax, Nova Scotia, and landed on Staten Island; the campaign began early in July.

British plans
of attack.

114. Washington at New York. (1776.)—Washington had already occupied the city of New York. He had about twenty thousand troops, but they were ill prepared to meet the British regulars; their arms were poor, and many of them knew little of real war or even of military drill. General Howe was soon reënforced by the arrival of his brother, Lord Howe, admiral of the fleet. Before beginning hostilities, the English issued a proclamation

Washington
at New
York, 1776.

offering pardon to all who would swear allegiance to the king.

British offers
of peace.

The brothers Howe were instructed to make peace, if possible, but it was hard for them to know with whom to treat. If they approached Congress, the action involved recognition of that body, a thing which the British government on no account wished. They had tried to open communication with the American general, and addressed him as "George Washington, Esq." or "George Washington, etc., etc., etc." But he refused to receive any communication that did not recognize him as the commander of the American armies. As all the terms of the British were based on submission, nothing came of these attempts at negotiation.

New York
campaign.

115. New York Campaign. (1776.)—Meantime the British army had been receiving additions, until their forces amounted to about thirty thousand men. Washington had been fortifying his position as thoroughly as possible. He held Long Island, and from the heights of Brooklyn commanded the city of New York. The division of the American army which, under General Putnam, held this important post, was attacked by a strong force of British and was defeated. With great skill Washington brought his troops over to the mainland, but New York had to be evacuated. Lord Howe held an informal conference with Franklin, Rutledge, and John Adams, but nothing was accomplished. The war must go on.

New York
evacuated.

After the evacuation of New York, Washington held the highlands north of the city, thus cutting off communication with Canada. In order to be ready to defend Philadelphia, he crossed the Hudson, leaving a large garrison in Fort Mifflin on the east bank of the river. This fort he had the mortification of seeing surrendered

to the British, though after a brave defence. Cornwallis, one of Howe's generals, soon crossed the Hudson to attack the Americans, and Washington, who had only about three thousand men, was compelled to retreat slowly before him and even to cross the Delaware River. This was late in December. Congress, in the general gloom, had given Washington greater powers, and hastily leaving Philadelphia, had gone to Baltimore. Everywhere murmurs were heard, the Pennsylvania militia refused to turn out, and many persons in New Jersey were placing themselves under the protection of the British.

Washington
retreats.

116. Trenton ; Newport. Lafayette ; Steuben. (1776-1777.)—After crossing the Delaware, the small force of Americans was increased to about six thousand men. The British followed Washington, gained possession of all the central part of New Jersey, and would have crossed to the west bank of the river had not Washington secured all the boats for miles above and below Trenton. Washington now determined upon a bold stroke. With 2500 men, on Christmas night, he crossed the Delaware River, though it was full of floating ice, marched nine miles through a heavy snowstorm to Trenton, surprised the town, captured its garrison of Hessians, and returned into Pennsylvania. Three days later he again occupied Trenton ; being threatened by the British, he retreated by night to Princeton. The first the British knew of this movement was the sound of his cannon in the distance. The British general, Cornwallis, was forced to follow, to protect his stores and to avoid losing communication with New York. Washington had succeeded in drawing the enemy from Philadelphia. He went into winter quarters at Morristown, where his position was too strong to be attacked. Should the British advance toward Philadelphia, it would

Washington
seizes
Trenton.

Princeton,
1777.

Activity of
the British.

be at the risk of a flank movement on the part of Washington. The British were not idle, however; marauding expeditions were sent out from New York into the surrounding country, and much damage was done. They captured Newport, Rhode Island, late in 1776, and held the town for about three years.

Much of the misfortune of the Americans in the early part of the campaign seems to have been due to two causes: first, the interference of Congress with the plans of Washington; second, the treachery of General Charles Lee, who was next to Washington in rank, and exceedingly jealous of him.

Lafayette.

Early in the spring of 1777 the Marquis de Lafayette, a young French nobleman, came to America to offer his services to Washington. He came in a ship fitted up at his own expense, and loaded with military stores for the Americans. With him was a German officer, Baron de Kalb. Kosciusko and Pulaski, Polish officers, preceded him, and later came Baron Steuben, an officer trained under Frederick the Great. Steuben was of great service in drilling the American troops.

Burgoyne's
advance.

117. Burgoyne's Surrender. (1777.)—Meanwhile, stirring events were taking place in the north. The British, in carrying out their plans, sent two expeditions from Canada; one under General Burgoyne, to open communication with New York City, for the Americans still held the Hudson River above Peekskill; the other under St. Leger, to central New York, to reduce that part of the country to submission and then to unite with Burgoyne. Burgoyne's force consisted of about ten thousand men, of whom seven thousand were regular troops, and the rest Canadians and Indians. He was successful in taking Ticonderoga. He then advanced toward the Hud-



son with the purpose of joining an army which Howe was to send up the Hudson to meet him. He expected in this way to get the Americans between two armies, and annihilate them. The American forces under Philip Schuyler, only about four thousand strong, were forced to retreat, but they destroyed all the bridges, cut down trees, and obstructed the road. Burgoyne, confident of success, sent a detachment into Vermont, in the hope of gaining that part of the country for the British. But this expedition, as well as that under St. Leger, was a failure. The people, instead of joining the British, were indignant at the invasion of their country, and while Burgoyne was losing numbers every day, the militia came pouring in to swell the army of Schuyler.

The British were far from their base of supplies, and could hear nothing of Howe. To drive back the Americans seemed the most feasible plan; in the attempt to carry it out Burgoyne was checked in two battles near Saratoga. Hemmed in, and with his force decreased to about six thousand men, he was compelled to surrender October 17, 1777, to General Gates, whom Congress had most unfairly put in the place of Schuyler. The credit of organizing the opposition to Burgoyne is due to Schuyler. Gates did not deserve credit even for the battles; that belonged to Generals Benedict Arnold and Morgan.

Burgoyne's
surrender,
Saratoga,
October 17,
1777.

118. Howe's Blunder. (1777.)—The blunder of Howe in not advancing to meet Burgoyne had very serious consequences for the British cause. It led to the surrender of Burgoyne, the recognition of America by France, and the French alliance. It was not till eighty years had elapsed that the reason for Howe's action was explained. General Charles Lee (sect. 116) had been surprised and captured by the British while he was sleeping in a tavern

Howe's
blunder
and its
results.

Washington's skilful generalship.

in New Jersey. He secretly tendered his services to the enemy, and advised Howe to take Philadelphia, "the rebel capital, which would destroy the rebel government," and also to send an expedition up the Chesapeake Bay to prevent Virginia and Maryland sending aid. Both Maryland and Pennsylvania, he asserted, were in sympathy with the British, and only needed encouragement to declare for the king. Lee, not having a very high opinion of Washington's generalship, believed that this could be done without much difficulty. Burgoyne, he thought, would be more than a match for Schuyler and Gates. Howe, whether by Lee's advice or not, did not go to meet Burgoyne. Washington, however, chose his positions so skilfully that Howe dared neither to attack nor to leave him in his rear. The skilful generalship of Washington was never more clearly shown than at this critical time; but as no battles were fought, there was nothing to encourage the people, and to outward appearance, the cause of the struggling republic was almost hopeless.

Howe moves toward Philadelphia.

119. British Campaign; Battle of the Brandywine; Howe captures Philadelphia. (1777.)—After two or three weeks Howe made another attempt to capture Philadelphia; possibly influenced by Lee's advice, he embarked an army and set sail for the Delaware. On arriving at the bay of that name, either fearing obstructions in the river, or for some unexplained reason, he put to sea again, and reaching the Chesapeake, went up that bay as far as Elkton, where he disembarked his forces and started for Philadelphia. Howe issued proclamations of amnesty, but few of the inhabitants joined him. (See map.)

When Washington learned that Howe had left New York, he broke up his encampments, and hurried to intercept the British army before it could reach Philadel-

phia. The armies met, September 11, at Chadd's Ford, on the Brandywine Creek, about fifteen miles north of Wilmington. Washington had only about eleven thousand men against Howe's eighteen thousand; but he saw that it was necessary to make an effort to defend Philadelphia. He chose his position and placed his forces with great skill, but in the battle which followed he was driven back with heavy loss. He retreated in such good order that it was a fortnight before Howe was able to enter the "rebel capital." Lafayette was wounded in the battle of the Brandywine, where he greatly distinguished himself by his skill and bravery. The battle of the Brandywine was of great service to the American army, for, though a defeat, it proved that the American troops could stand against the British and Hessian regulars.

Battle of the
Brandywine,
September
11, 1777.

120. Germantown; Valley Forge. (1777-1778.)—Washington, on October 14, made an attack upon the British at Germantown, then a village six miles from Philadelphia. Though well planned, the attempt was a failure, partly on account of a heavy fog, in which two divisions of the Americans fired upon each other and threw the attacking party into confusion. Washington could do little more; as it was now late in the year, he went into winter quarters on the Schuylkill River at Valley Forge, a position from which he could watch both Philadelphia and New York.

German-
town.

Valley
Forge.

Howe and his army remained in Philadelphia, where they had many sympathizers. But the British army was much demoralized by its stay in the city. Franklin said that it was not so much that the British had taken Philadelphia as that Philadelphia had taken the British.

Howe in
Philadel-
phia.

The condition of the American troops was deplorable. Shut in on the south and west by high hills, and lying

Valley
Forge,
1777-1778.

open to the river in front, Valley Forge was admirably fitted for the winter quarters of a small army, but the name has become almost a synonym for suffering. The soldiers had little food, clothing, and shelter. Washington wrote, December 23, that nearly three thousand men were "unfit for duty, because they were barefoot and otherwise naked."

121. The Conway Cabal. (1778.)—It is a disgrace to Congress that this suffering was occasioned, not by lack of means, but because of gross mismanagement of the commissary department, due to the interference of Congress. In fact, at this time and later, the Continental Congress was far from being that wise, self-sacrificing, and patriotic body which it has so often been assumed that it was. Political and personal reasons influenced it greatly; Washington's correspondence shows how often he was hampered, and his well-laid plans brought to naught by Congressional action.

Congress
unpatriotic.

Members of Congress, ignorant of military affairs and of the practical difficulties in the way, censured Washington for not doing that which Congress itself kept him from doing through lack of supplies that it could have furnished readily. Dr. Benjamin Rush, of Philadelphia, in an anonymous letter to Patrick Henry, said: "The northern army has shown us what Americans are capable of doing with a general [Gates] at their head. The spirit of the southern army is in no way inferior to the spirit of the northern. A Gates, a Lee, or a Conway would in a few weeks render them an irresistible body of men."

Gates put
forward.

General Gates was a scheming, ambitious man. He had succeeded in supplanting Schuyler; he now tried to supplant Washington. All through the winter of 1777-1778 intrigues were set on foot to put Gates in the place of

Washington. Members of Congress, as well as officers in the army, took part in these schemes. A prominent actor in one of these plots was an officer named Conway, an Irish volunteer, and it is called from him the "Conway Cabal." As soon as the matter became known, public indignation was so strong that the effort failed ignominiously, and most of those who were concerned did their best to conceal their connection with it. Washington retained the confidence of the people, who, in John Adams's language, idolized him.

Conway
Cabal.

122. France supports America ; British Overtures. (1778.)—The second stage of the Revolutionary War was now reached. Up to this time the conflict had been between Great Britain and her rebellious subjects ; other nations were now drawn in ; and, as in the French and Indian War, the struggle became part of an international contest. If the surrender of Burgoyne at Saratoga cheered the hearts of the desponding Americans, it brought dismay to the British government.

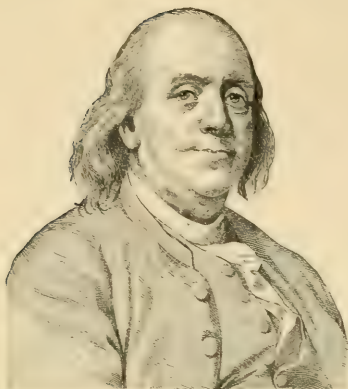
The second
stage of the
war.

The battle of Saratoga has always been considered one of the decisive battles of the world, because it proved to be the turning point of the war. France had long wished for an opportunity to revenge herself for the loss of her American possessions ; she had been secretly aiding the Americans, and on the news of the surrender of Burgoyne, she listened to the advances of Benjamin Franklin, whom the Congress had appointed minister to France. Early in 1778 she signed a treaty of alliance with the United States acknowledging their independence, and agreed to send to America a fleet and an army of four thousand men. As soon as the British government heard this, war was declared against France. Overtures were again made to the Americans. Everything that the colo-

Importance
of the battle
of Saratoga.

France joins
America,
1778.

British
overtures.



BENJAMIN FRANKLIN.

After the portrait by Duplessis, 1783.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN was born in Boston, Mass., January 17, 1706. When he was ten years old he was taken from school and for a time was put to work in his father's soap and candle shop. He learned to print in his brother's printing office. The lad was a great reader and gained much information. When he was seventeen he ran away to New York. He went from New York to Philadelphia, where he found employment in a printing office. He was industrious, and in time became very successful in his business.

He published the best newspaper in America and established *Poor Richard's Almanac*, famous for its wise and witty sayings. He was postmaster for the English colonies. He founded the first public library in America, and the first scientific society. By means of a kite he proved that lightning is electricity.

He acted in London as agent for several of the colonies, and was largely instrumental in the repeal of the Stamp Act. He was in England when the Revolution broke out, but returned to America. He was chosen a member of the Congress, was on the committee which drafted the Declaration of Independence, and signed it. He went to France as representative of the United States and secured the French alliance. He was one of the commissioners who negotiated the treaty of peace with Great Britain. He was a member of the Convention which framed the Constitution. He was three times president of Pennsylvania. He died in 1790, aged eighty-four.

nists had asked a few years before — freedom from taxation, representation in Parliament — was offered, but it was too late. Spain joined France, and in about a year Holland acknowledged the independence of the United States.

123. Effect of the French Alliance. (1778).—In America the immediate effect of the French alliance was to inspire the people with new courage, and make them refuse any overtures for peace that did not clearly acknowledge the independence of the states. It also led to the evacuation of Philadelphia by the British; for, fearing that the French fleet would seize New York, the British government ordered their army back to that city, which was of more value to them than Philadelphia. The French alliance, moreover, divided the attention of England, and kept her from increasing her army in the colo-

Effect of the
French
alliance.

nies. It also greatly helped the financial credit of the Americans.

124. British Failure in the Middle Colonies. (1778.) British failure in the middle colonies, 1878.
 — After the evacuation of Philadelphia, Washington fell upon the retreating British at Monmouth, in New Jersey. Had it not been for the insubordination of General Charles Lee, who had been exchanged and restored to his position in the army, the Americans would have gained a decisive victory. During the following night the British retreated and soon reached New York. Washington took up his old position north of the city, his line extending along the highlands as far as Morristown, New Jersey. The British had gained nothing, but had aroused much ill-will to their cause—their troops ravaging the land and treating the people brutally. Many Tories were turned into Whigs, for little difference had been made between friend and foe. The British campaign in the middle colonies had failed.

125. French Aid; Massacre of Wyoming; the Indians. French assistance.
 (1778–1779.)—According to agreement, the French sent to America a fleet and a land force of four thousand men. The expedition came first to New York, but finding that some of the vessels drew too much water to cross the bar at the entrance of the harbor, it was decided to attack Newport, Rhode Island, which was still held by the British (sect. 116). Owing to storms and bad management, the attempt was a failure, and the French admiral sailed with his fleet to the West Indies.

In the course of the years 1778–1779 there were a number of plundering expeditions and many experiences of the horrors of a border warfare. In July, 1778, a force of British and Indians, under the leadership of a Tory named Butler, and Brant, a Mohawk chief, came from Fort Niagara, and attacked a Connecticut settlement in Wyoming Valley,

Indian
massacres.

Pennsylvania, butchered the settlers and laid waste the whole region. The same year another of the Butler family and Brant destroyed the village of Cherry Valley, in New York, and put the inhabitants to death. There were other attacks and massacres only less horrible because fewer persons suffered.

Retaliation
upon the
Indians.

126. American Retaliation. (1779.)—War demands retaliation, and so in the spring of the following year Washington sent a force of men under General Sullivan against the Indians. The object of this expedition was, in Washington's own words, "to carry war into the heart of the country of the Six Nations, to cut off their settlements, destroy their next year's crops, and do every other mischief which time and circumstances will permit." The country was not to be "merely run over, but destroyed." In October, 1779, Washington wrote: "General Sullivan has completed the entire destruction of the country of the Six Nations, and driven all the inhabitants — men, women, and children — out of it."

The Indian ravages, however, continued to a greater or less degree until 1783. In the Declaration of Independence the king of Great Britain was accused of bringing "on the inhabitants of our frontiers the merciless Indian savages, whose known rule of warfare is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes, and conditions." It was a complaint that ill became the American Congress; before April, 1775, Indians had been enlisted as minutemen in Massachusetts, and on the 25th of May, 1776, Congress had resolved "that it is highly expedient to engage the Indians in the service of the United Colonies." On the 17th of June General Washington was authorized to employ Indians wherever they would be most useful, and also to "offer them a reward of one hundred dollars

Congress
employed
Indians.

for every commissioned officer, and thirty dollars for every private soldier of the king's troops, that they shall take prisoners in the Indian country, or on the frontiers of those colonies." The necessities of war no doubt seemed to demand that the aid of the Indians should be sought by each party, but justice must lay the responsibility on both, and upon the American Congress a charge of inconsistency as well.

127. The Navy; John Paul Jones. (1775-1779.)—The Americans had few ships of war but many privateers.¹

American
navy.

Congress began to commission these privateers soon after the breaking out of the war. The seaboard states also commissioned a large number. The most successful commander of any of these cruisers was John Paul Jones, who, however, was a regularly commissioned officer in the United States navy. He took many British ships; and even attacked vessels of the royal navy with success. In a terrible conflict off Scarborough, on the east coast of England (1779), Jones's ship, *Le Bonhomme*



John Paul
Jones.

ADMIRAL JOHN PAUL JONES.

After the etching by A. Varen.

Richard (named after the "Poor Richard" of Franklin's Almanac), engaged the British ship *Scrapis*. The two vessels came so near that Jones lashed them together. After a desperate hand-to-hand fight, the *Scrapis* surrendered, but not before Jones had lost 300 of his 375

¹ A privateer is a private vessel authorized to cruise at sea and capture an enemy's ships and merchandise. Almost all civilized nations have now given up this practice.

Injury to
British
commerce.

men. His vessel was so injured that she began to sink, and he transferred everything to his prize. Perhaps as



DANIEL BOONE.

After the portrait by C. Harding.

DANIEL BOONE was born in Pennsylvania, 1734. When Daniel was still a boy his parents moved to Yadkin Valley, North Carolina. Here Boone grew up to be a thorough backwoodsman. In May, 1767, with five companions, Boone went "in quest of the country of Kentucky." They were attacked by the Indians. Boone and one companion escaped. In 1775 Boone led a band of emigrants to Kentucky, and the settlement began in earnest. The settlers were often attacked by Indians and had many hairbreadth escapes. Boone himself was once captured, but after some time managed to escape. When Kentucky became too thickly settled for his liking, he removed to Missouri that he might have more "elbow room." He died in his eighty-sixth year. He was the best type of a frontiersman.

Western
settlements.

many as 500 privateers were commissioned by the individual states. These vessels and those commissioned by Congress were distinct from the regular navy. The damage done to British commerce may be imagined from the fact that during the year 1780 one court in Massachusetts condemned eight hundred and eighteen prizes. It has been estimated that over 70,000 men were engaged in this naval warfare on the American side. The largest number of land forces at any one time in service was about forty-seven thousand, while the average number of those nominally in service was only about thirty-two thousand.

128. Western Settlements; Daniel Boone; George Rogers Clark. (1775-1779.)—By the treaty of 1763 England gained the vast territory between the Alleghanies and the Missis-

sippi River (map, p. 100). No attempt was made to colonize it, but the French plan of keeping the land for the hunter and trapper was followed. The old French posts of Kaskaskia, Cahokia, and some others were occu-

ried, but little else was done. Before the Revolutionary War, explorers had begun to cross the mountains from Virginia and North Carolina. Among these was Daniel Boone, who as early as 1767 left North Carolina in quest of "the county of Kentucke." In March, 1775, he started with a company of thirty men to prepare for a settlement in the beautiful country he had explored. These pioneers cut with their axes a path through the woods for two hundred miles. The route went through the Cumberland Gap,

Daniel
Boone.



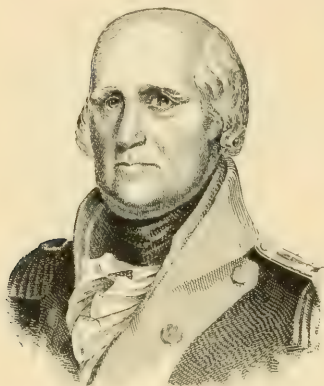
BOONE'S TRAIL.

across rivers and streams which had to be forded, and into the wilderness where no white man had dwelt. It was known as Boone's Trail or the Wilderness Road, and over it, in later years, thousands went to seek new homes in the West. In spite of Indian attacks, Boonesboro was founded. Almost every settlement in this southwest country was the result of individual effort. Daniel Boone in Kentucky, and John Sevier and James Robertson in Tennessee, were leaders in this great movement.

Boone's
Trail.

Hamilton, the British governor of the northwest region,

George
Rogers
Clark in
Illinois,
1778.



GEORGE ROGERS CLARK.

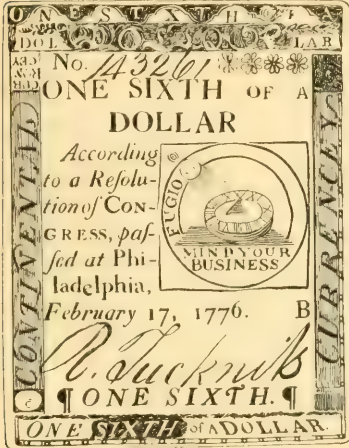
had been ordered to enlist the Indians on the side of the British, and, by means of presents and rewards, was very successful in doing so. Many terrible Indian attacks followed; the settlers along the Pennsylvania and Virginia frontier and in Kentucky were in despair. George Rogers Clark, a young Virginian in Kentucky, believed that if the British posts in the Illinois country were captured, the danger from the Indians would be averted, and the vast western country secured. Kentucky was at that time part of Virginia. Clark went to Williamsburg, the capital, to seek the aid and authority of Patrick Henry, then governor, to carry out his plan. The plan was approved, he was given some funds, and was commissioned a colonel, with authority to

raise troops. With what force he was able to get together, he took Kaskaskia, Vincennes, and other places (map, p. 68). Vincennes was retaken by the British, but he recaptured it, overcoming difficulties which most men would have thought insurmountable. He and his men had marched across a flooded country in bitterly cold weather, often up to their necks in water, and had endured hardships innumerable. Through the skill and perseverance of Clark, the United States gained the whole Illinois region, which, but for him, might have been lost.

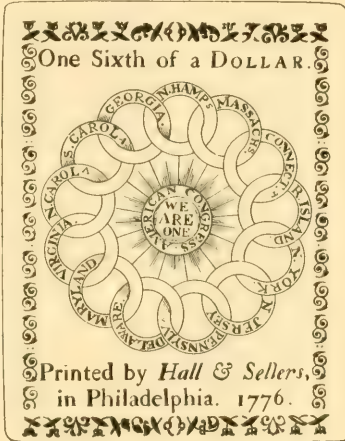
129. Continental Money. (1775-1779.)—One of the greatest difficulties before the Continental Congress, was that of raising the money necessary for carrying on the

war. It has been seen that paper currency was issued for this purpose in 1775 (sect. 106). It is quite likely that had the Continental Congress attempted at that time to tax the several colonies for the support of the war, the attempt would have been successful; but the trial was not made. The plan, already familiar to the colonists,

Continental money.



Face.



Back.

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

was followed, of issuing paper money—promises to pay coin on demand or after a certain date. A promise to pay is only valuable in proportion to the ability to pay; unless the Americans gained their independence, they would not be able to pay. Accordingly, the more discouraging the prospect, the less willing the people were to take the paper bills, refusing them, except at a heavy discount. Again, the larger the amount, the less likely the ability to pay. Before July 4, 1776, twenty millions of dollars had been issued. It was useless to issue more,

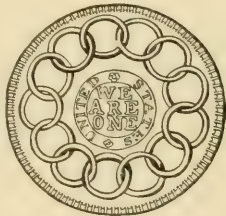
Paper money.

Paper
money
becomes
worthless.

for the people would not take any more; Washington said that "a wagon-load of bills would not buy a wagon-load of provisions." In December, 1779, the nominal coin value of a continental paper dollar was only two cents, and in a few weeks the paper money was worthless. Besides the paper money of Congress, much had been issued by the individual colonies: the country was flooded with this wretched substitute for coin, and forged bills were common.

Foreign
loans.

130. Foreign Loans. (1775-1781.)—Soon after the beginning of hostilities, Congress had tried to borrow



THE FRANKLIN PENNY.

money in Europe, particularly from France and Holland; but the bankers of Europe were slow to lend to rebellious subjects of a powerful king;

funds could be had only at high rates of interest, and could not have been secured at all without the personal aid of such men as Franklin and John Adams. Much of the aid received from France was given with the purpose of injuring her ancient enemy England, rather than that of helping America. One great difficulty in negotiating loans was that Congress had no power of imposing taxes; it could only recommend to the states to raise money. Thus the money-lender would ask, "How are you going to pay the interest?" The only answer possible was, "We hope the states will raise the amount needed." This was poor security indeed; but partly through belief in the promises, partly through French hatred of England, and a desire to see

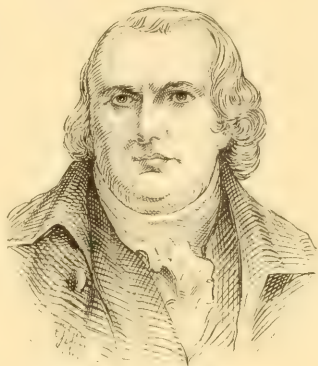
her humbled, Congress managed to borrow about \$11,000,000 in Europe during the war. The French alliance, after the surrender of Burgoyne, was of the greatest help to the United States; indeed, had it not been for this, the credit of Congress would have been quite lost.

131. Robert Morris. (1781.)

—There was also a large home debt; for, like men in desperate straits, Congress borrowed money wherever it could. In 1781, when the outlook was most gloomy, Congress appointed Robert Morris of Philadelphia, Superintendent of Finance. He agreed to take the office only on condition that Congress should return to specie payment and give up the attempt to make the people take paper money. This was done. To aid the government, the Bank of North America was chartered at Philadelphia by Congress.¹ Just after the battle

of Trenton, Washington wrote to Robert Morris that he must have \$50,000 in gold and silver, or a large number of men whose term of enlistment was out would leave the army; they would not take the worthless paper bills.

¹ This bank is still in existence, and with the exception of one in Boston is the oldest bank in the United States.



Robert Morris, the financier of the Revolution.

ROBERT MORRIS.

ROBERT MORRIS, the statesman and financier, was born in England, 1734, and came to America when about fifteen. He entered mercantile life, and was very successful. He ardently supported the American cause, and signed the Declaration of Independence. His skill as a financier, and his patriotic use of his private fortune, more than once saved the country from bankruptcy. From 1781 to 1784 he had complete control of the finances of the country. The value of his services is incalculable. He was a member of the Constitutional Convention, and a United States Senator. Late in life, unfortunate land speculations involved him in financial ruin, and he died, 1806, in a debtor's prison.

The patriot-
ism of
Robert
Morris.

Morris knew that matters were in a desperate case; for if the men left the army the American cause would probably be lost, so, early in the morning, before it was light, he went about among his friends, rousing them from their beds, and begging them to give him money. He succeeded in raising the sum needed, sent the money to Washington, and saved the army. This is but one instance of Morris's perseverance and success. Had it not been for his services in raising funds it is hard to see how the Revolution could have succeeded.

American
troops not
paid.

Early in 1781 the Pennsylvania militia revolted and refused to serve longer in the army, because they received neither pay nor supplies. They started to march to Philadelphia to compel Congress to do them justice. Congress sent commissioners to meet them. The commissioners promised to satisfy the troops, who thereupon agreed not to disband. This instance was but one among many. In November, 1780, the army had been ten months without pay, and supplies were poor and insufficient. All through this period the patience of Washington was marvellous.

Benedict
Arnold.

132. Benedict Arnold; Dark Days. (1778-1780.)—After the battle of Monmouth (sect. 124) both the British and the American armies had remained comparatively quiet, only a few skirmishes taking place. Below West Point there was a fortress called Stony Point; the British had taken it. In 1779 Wayne—"Mad Anthony," as he was called from his daring—stormed and retook it at the point of the bayonet. A large number of prisoners were taken and a great quantity of military stores, but as the Americans were not able to hold the place, it was destroyed.

In 1780 the Americans barely escaped a great disaster.

General Benedict Arnold, who had shown himself one of the bravest of the American commanders, was wounded in the leg in a battle near Saratoga, and unfitted for service in the field. Washington, who had a high opinion of Arnold's military ability, appointed him to the command of Philadelphia after its evacuation by the British. Despite his ability, Arnold seems to have been unfortunate in getting into quarrels and making enemies. Congress promoted junior men over him and caused his ill-will. While in Philadelphia he lived extravagantly, associated with the Tory element, and married a Tory's daughter. He was accused by the state government of dishonesty and of many indiscretions. He was finally acquitted of the serious charges, but was sentenced to be reprimanded for the others by Washington. That Washington thought Arnold hardly treated is shown by the fact that, after Arnold's resignation of his command at Philadelphia, he was appointed to the command of West Point.

Benedict
Arnold.

At West
Point.

133. Arnold's Treason. (1780.)—The year 1780 was one of the darkest periods of the war, and perhaps Arnold thought the struggle was hopeless. There seems to be little doubt that he applied for the command at West Point with the intention of betraying the fortress to the British. In order to complete the plans for giving up that post, the British general sent Major John André to treat with Arnold. André visited Arnold in September, 1780, and the plans were completed. Through a series of mischances André was captured by three New York militiamen and the treasonable plan discovered. Arnold heard of the failure in time to escape; but André was tried by a court-martial, found guilty of being a spy, and was hanged. No incident in the war has occasioned more comment than this; the opinion expressed by a recent British historian proba-

Arnold's
treason,
1780.

André.

bly gives the commonly received judgment of the present day: "The justice of his sentence can hardly be denied."¹

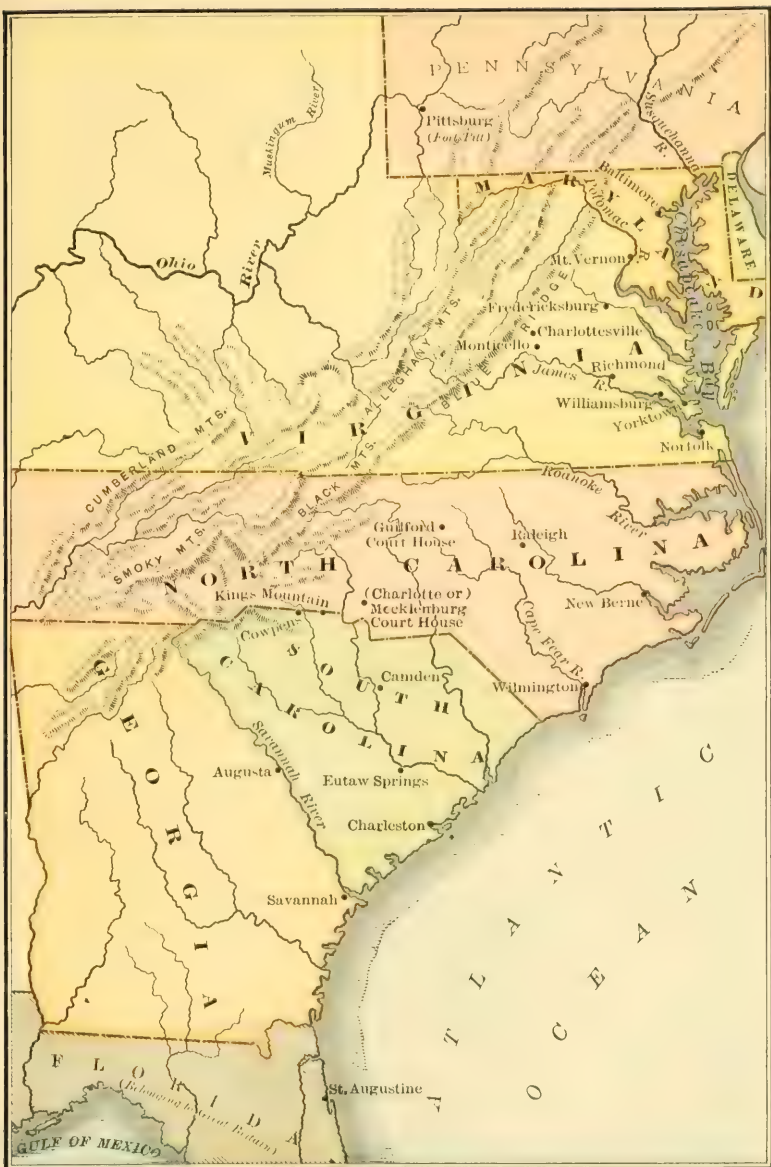
Southern
campaign,
1778-1780.

134. Southern Campaign. (1778-1780.)—The failures of the British in the middle colonies and New England made them turn to the South. There was much to encourage them there. Florida was theirs; Georgia was thinly settled and could not make much resistance; the negroes were numerous and likely to be a hindrance to their owners in case of active hostilities. The South had suffered little from the war since an attack on Charleston in 1776. From her territory the continental armies had drawn many supplies; moreover, it was believed that the inhabitants were very lukewarm toward the American cause, as there was without question a large number of Tories among them.

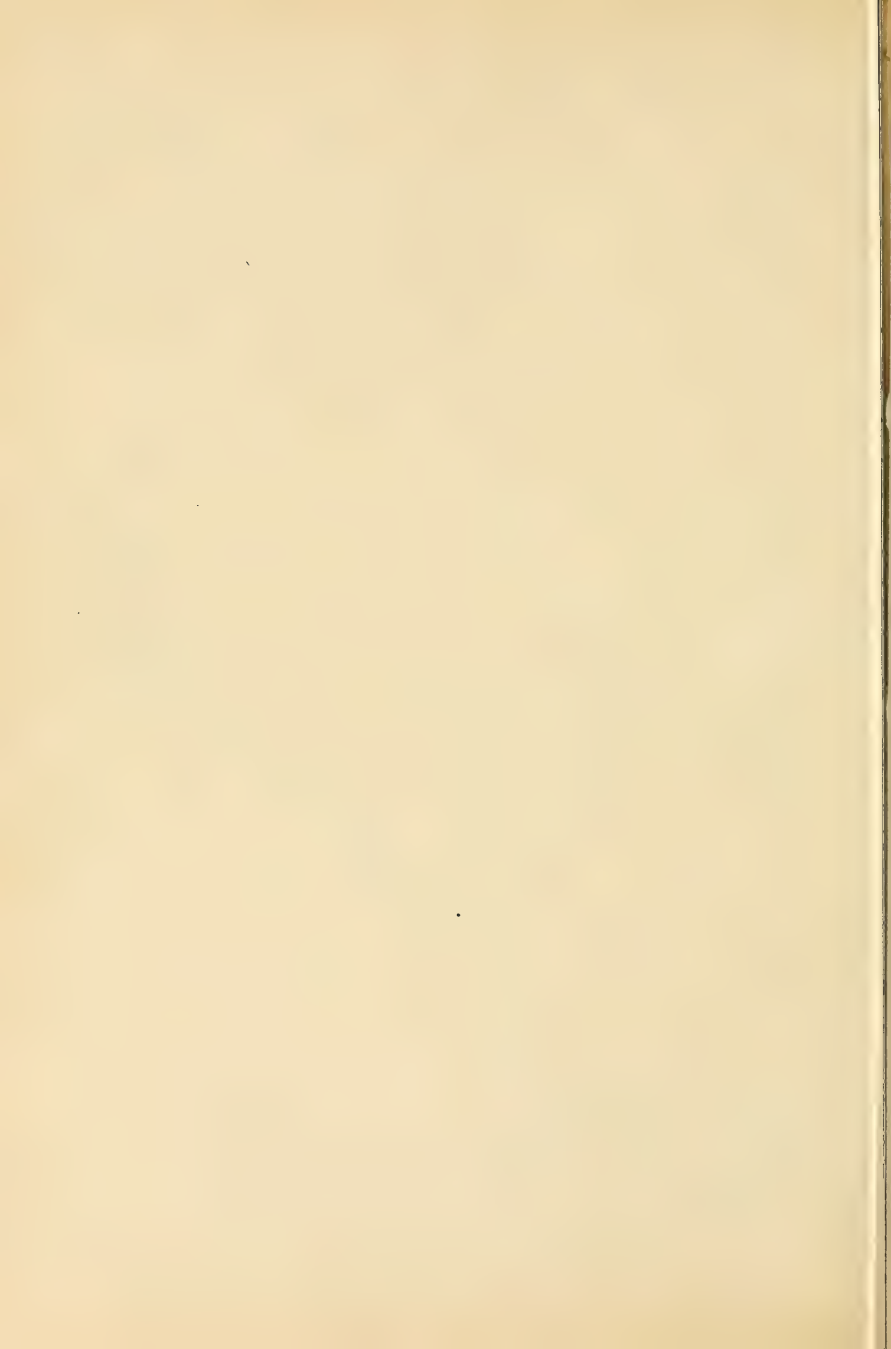
Charleston
taken by the
British.

Late in 1778 the British sent from New York an expedition against Savannah, and soon captured it. In the spring of 1780 they succeeded in shutting up General Lincoln, the American commander, in Charleston, and he was forced to surrender. Sir Henry Clinton, the British commander-in-chief, himself took part in the attack. Leaving Cornwallis in charge of the southern forces, Clinton returned to New York. The British now had complete control of Georgia, and restored the royal government. The country, however, was almost in a state of anarchy. Whigs and Tories fought among themselves, and marauding expeditions from both sides went up and down the country pillaging, destroying, and fighting. There were successes and defeats for each side.

¹ Arnold received the reward for what he intended to do, the commission of a general in the British army and £6315 sterling. He fought against his country in Connecticut and in Virginia; went to England and then to New Brunswick; he was always regarded with contempt.



REFERENCE MAP FOR THE REVOLUTION
SOUTHERN STATES



135. Gates's Failure; Greene. (1780-1781.) — Congress appointed Gates, who had gained undeserved reputation as the conqueror of Saratoga, to command the southern armies. He met the British at Camden, South Carolina. Here, though he had fully twice as many men as Cornwallis, he was badly defeated. He joined the fugitives and hardly paused in his rapid flight until some seventy miles distant from the field of battle.¹

Gates's failure in the South.

South Carolina was now under British control; there was no organized army to oppose it in either of the Carolinas. Greene, by the advice of Washington, was sent to supersede Gates. General Nathanael Greene was a Rhode Island blacksmith of Quaker birth. He entered the army early in the conflict, rose by reason of his natural abilities, and became the ablest of the Revolutionary officers except Washington.

Greene sent to take command.



NATHANAEL GREENE.

The change of commanders was soon felt in the conduct of the campaign. Greene set to work to reorganize the American army. Shortly after the defeat at Camden the Americans had been successful in surprising and capturing a British force at King's Mountain; at Cowpens another force under Tarleton was completely beaten. Greene was too weak to attack Cornwallis, and retreated.

¹ It must be said for Gates that a large part of his forces were untrained militia, who fled at the first shot of the enemy. But his precipitate flight seems to have been without excuse.

Cornwallis followed, as Greene had hoped. At Guilford Court House, near Greensboro', North Carolina, the armies met. After a sharp conflict, Greene retreated, leaving Cornwallis in possession of the field; but the British loss was so heavy that Cornwallis could not pursue the Americans, who had withdrawn in good order.

Greene's
success.

Cornwallis
retires to
Wilmington.

Though nominally defeated, Greene had succeeded in his main purpose. He had drawn the British far from their base of supplies. Cornwallis marched to Wilmington, North Carolina; he must recruit and open communications with the British fleet. It was the despatch of Cornwallis to the British Colonial Secretary announcing this victory that made Charles James Fox exclaim, "Another such victory would destroy the British army!"

Greene meanwhile marched rapidly to South Carolina, and though he was defeated several times, his movements were so skilful, and the enemy's losses were so severe, that by September, 1781, the British held only Charleston and Savannah.

Cornwallis
goes to
Virginia.

136. Cornwallis marches to Virginia. (1781.)—Cornwallis, thinking that the British troops in South Carolina would be able to hold Greene in check, determined to march into Virginia and unite his forces with those sent from New York to annoy that colony and keep it from aiding the Carolinas. One of these bodies of troops was under Benedict Arnold, who captured Richmond and ravaged the country.¹

Lafayette in
Virginia.

Lafayette had already been sent by Washington to watch affairs in Virginia, and had been very successful. Cornwallis, who had spent much time marching and countermarching in order to prevent Lafayette from being re-

¹ Clinton had so little confidence in Arnold that he gave his two subordinate officers commissions under which they could act in case Arnold should prove to be a traitor to his employers.

enforced, now received orders to seize some post where there would be easy communication with the sea, and to fortify it: Cornwallis accordingly took Yorktown and proceeded to carry out his instructions.

Cornwallis
at York-
town, 1781.

137. Yorktown. (1781.)—Hitherto, though the moral influence of the French alliance had been of the greatest advantage to the United States, the French army had done little or nothing. In 1780 Count Rochambeau reached Newport, Rhode Island, with six thousand men, who not long after were marched to the Hudson to join Washington in a projected attack on New York. Clinton, the British commander, was alarmed, for he had learned that a strong French fleet was about to sail for America. This fleet had orders to coöperate for a time with the American forces and then to go to the West Indies.



MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE.

(From a Portrait about 1825)

MARQUIS DE LAFAYETTE was born in France, 1757. His father was killed in battle, and left his son, only two years old, a large fortune. When Lafayette was nineteen he volunteered to assist the Americans. He came to America in his own vessel, 1777, and offered his services to Washington. He was appointed a major-general, and became one of Washington's staff and a member of his family. He was wounded at the battle of Brandywine, and was at Monmouth and other battles. He did excellent service at Yorktown. It was largely through his influence that French troops came to America. He was very popular in France, and was a statesman as well as a soldier. He revisited America in 1784, and again in 1824 (sects. 212, 213). He died in 1834.

Learning in August that the destination of the French fleet, which had on board a small body of French troops, was Chesapeake Bay, Washington resolved to change the seat of war to Virginia, and with the assistance of the fleet cut off Cornwallis. His plans were carried out with

Washington
moves his
army to
Virginia.

Yorktown
Campaign.

the greatest secrecy. By starting from Peekskill, a few miles south of West Point, he would give the impression that he was aiming to reach Staten Island, and begin the attack on New York, which Clinton was expecting. The British were completely deceived; Washington had nearly reached Philadelphia before Clinton recognized the danger.

By the energy of Franklin and Laurens, who represented the United States in France, new loans had been negotiated, which opportunely provided the money needed for the campaign. The American and French troops marched to the head of Chesapeake Bay, were embarked on transports at Elkton and at Baltimore, and brought to the York peninsula in Virginia.

French fleet
in Chesapeake Bay.

The French fleet reached the Chesapeake as had been planned, and landed the reënforcements for Lafayette. Being attacked by a division of the English fleet, the

French ships repulsed them, and so were able to coöperate with the land forces in blockading Cornwallis.

Illumination.

Surrender of
Cornwallis,
October 19,
1781.

COLONEL TILGHMAN, Aid de Camp to his Excellency General WASHINGTON, having brought official accounts of the SURRENDER of Lord Cornwallis, and the Garrisons of York and Gloucester, those Citizens who chuse to ILLUMINATE on the GLORIOUS OCCASION, will do it this evening at Six, and extinguish their lights at Nine o'clock.

Decorum and harmony are earnestly recommended to every Citizen, and a general discountenance to the least appearance of riot.

October 24, 1781.

REDUCED FACSIMILE OF A
PHILADELPHIA BROAD-
SIDE.

138. Cornwallis surrenders October 19, 1781.—After a siege of three weeks, during which Cornwallis made a number of desperate efforts to escape, he surrendered on the 19th of October, 1781, with all his forces, numbering about eight thousand men. The allied French and American armies numbered about sixteen thousand.

The terms of surrender which had been imposed upon Lincoln at Charleston (sect. 134), including the laying down of arms, were required. As Cornwallis did not appear, pleading illness,

General Lincoln, who had been exchanged, was appointed to receive the British general's sword from the subordinate who represented him.

A fleet with reënforcements for Cornwallis sailed from New York on the day of the surrender, but returned as soon as the news was heard. In Philadelphia the tidings were received at midnight, and the citizens were thrilled by the watchman's cry,



WASHINGTON'S HEADQUARTERS AT NEWBURG.

"Past twelve o'clock, and Cornwallis is taken!" All felt that this victory was the virtual end of the war. Washington returned with his army to his old quarters on the Hudson at Newburg, and hostilities almost ceased while men waited news from abroad.

139. The News in England; Peace. (1783.) — Lord North is said to have received the news "as he would have taken a bullet through his breast," exclaiming, "O God, it is all over!" The king and his ministers tried to take measures to continue the war, but the opposition in Parliament and among the people was too strong. Fox, Burke, and the younger Pitt in the House of Commons, and Shelburne in the House of Lords, attacked the government violently, and large public meetings were held in London and elsewhere, demanding that the war should cease.

Effect in
England of
Cornwallis's
surrender.

At length, on March 20, 1782, the Ministry resigned, and George III. was forced to appoint one favorable to making peace. It was not, however, until December that the king

publicly announced to Parliament his consent to the acknowledgment of the independence of the colonies.

Great
Britain ac-
knowledges
independ-
ence of
America.

It was nearly two years before the terms of peace could be agreed upon, so difficult were the questions to be settled, and so loath were the English to yield the various points.

Meantime the American army, unpaid, was dwindling away from month to month. A conspiracy was started to make Washington king; this he soon stopped, spurning the suggestion with sternness and sorrow. Another plan was to refuse to disband until Congress or the states should pay arrears due. This, which seems to have been encouraged by Gates, was also given up through Washington's influence.

Peace
proclaimed
April 19,
1783.

At length, on the 19th of April, 1783, the anniversary of the battle of Lexington, which was generally considered to be the beginning of the Revolution, peace was formally proclaimed. Most of the soldiers were given leave of absence, and the army was practically disbanded, though some of the troops were retained at Newburg until the evacuation of New York by the British, November 25, 1783.

Rebellion had resulted in revolution and revolution in independence. The result, expected by few at the outset, and undesired by many, was brought about by the skill and perseverance of those who were at the beginning, and perhaps, during a good part of the struggle, a minority.

SUMMARY.

Washington was appointed by Congress commander-in-chief, 1775. Bunker Hill was the first real battle of the Revolution. Washington disciplined the army and continued the siege of Boston, which was evacuated by the British in less than a year.

The King refused to hear any petitions from the Americans. The desire for independence grew among the colonists, and July 4, 1776, Congress issued the Declaration of Independence. Washington took his army to New York, but was forced to retreat before the British. Later he was compelled to retire to Pennsylvania; but by a brilliant movement he seized Trenton, and soon compelled the British to retire toward New York. Burgoyne, coming with a British force from Canada, surrendered at Saratoga. This was the real turning-point of the war, as it led to the French alliance.

The British moved on Philadelphia by way of Chesapeake Bay, defeated Washington at Brandywine and Germantown, and occupied Philadelphia. The American army suffered greatly in the winter of 1777-1778 at Valley Forge.

The Americans had hardly any navy. John Paul Jones was the most noted officer. There were, however, many privateers, which inflicted great damage on British commerce.

During the struggle for independence Kentucky was settled by Daniel Boone. George Rogers Clark secured the Illinois region for the United States.

Raising funds to carry on the war was very difficult. Large quantities of paper money were issued both by Congress and the states until the people would no longer take it, and it became worthless. Congress borrowed money in Europe, especially from France. Robert Morris was the great financier of the Revolution, and rendered great services to the cause.

The treason of Benedict Arnold was a sad incident of the war. In the southern campaign the British were successful until General Greene assumed command of the American forces. By a rapid movement, aided by the French fleet, Washington shut up Cornwallis in Yorktown, and compelled his surrender, October 19, 1781. This was the virtual end of the Revolution. The definitive Treaty of Peace and Independence was signed September 3, 1783.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xxxix.

CHAPTER VII.

THE CONFEDERATION. THE CONSTITUTION.

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T. W. Higginson, *Larger History of the United States*; A. B. Hart, *Source-Book*, Chap. x.; J. Fiske, *Critical Period of American History*, Chap. iv.

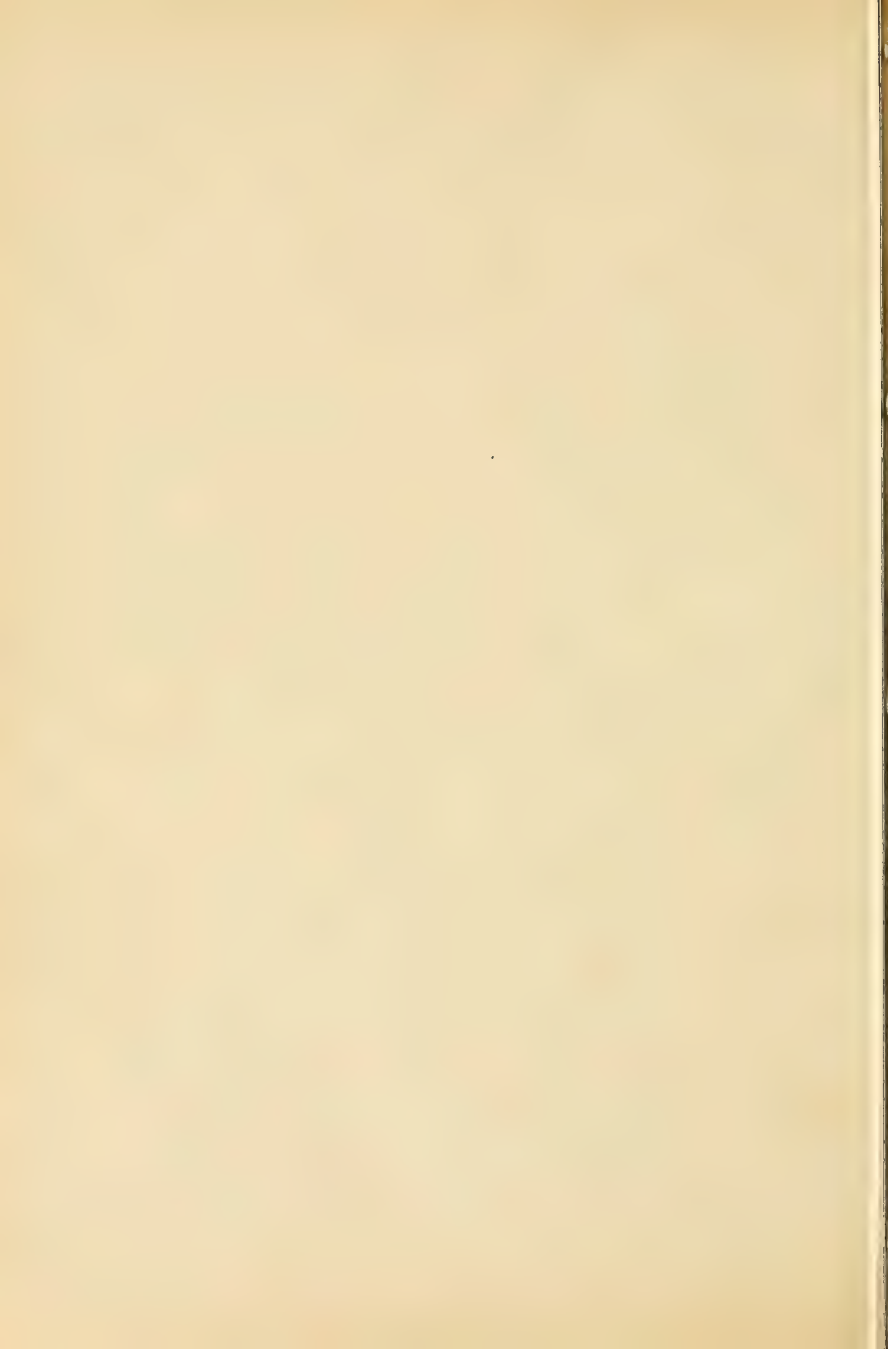
140. Land Claims. (1781.)—The war was at end; the independence of the United States had been acknowledged by England. At first sight all seemed accomplished. In reality, many difficult problems remained to be solved. In fighting for independence the people had at stake a common interest; there was no such clear issue before them now, and the petty jealousies, which had already shown themselves during the course of the struggle, became very prominent.

Articles of
Confederation
adopted,
1781.

The Articles of Confederation, agreed upon by the Continental Congress in 1777, had not gone into effect until 1781. The delay was caused by the refusal of Maryland to join the Confederation until the question of the ownership of the western lands was settled (sect. 81). Maryland held that these lands were acquired by the common effort of all the colonies, and therefore should be a common possession.

Six of the colonies — New Hampshire, Rhode Island, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, and Maryland — had boundaries fixed by their charters. The western limits of the others were indefinite, until by the treaty of Paris,





1763, the Mississippi was recognized as the eastern boundary of the Spanish possessions, thus putting an end to the extravagant claims which some of the colonies had made.

Western limits of the States.

All the colonies, except the six already mentioned, insisted that their western limit was the Mississippi. Virginia claimed that according to her charter, her boundary extended west and northwest to the farthest limits of the United States. This would include, besides the present state of Kentucky, the whole of what was afterward known as the Northwestern Territory. New York was the first to give up her claims. Upon the assurance that the other states would yield their claims, Maryland entered the Confederation in 1781.

Land claims.

It was not until 1802 that various cessions to the United States fixed the boundaries of the original thirteen states as they were until 1863.¹ Georgia was the last to give up her claim. Connecticut reserved the ownership of a part of northeastern Ohio, still known as the Western Reserve, but finally sold it, the proceeds of the sale being set aside "as a perpetual fund, the interest of which should be appropriated to the support of schools."

This cession of claims to the United States was a matter of great importance. It furnished a bond of union between the states when one was greatly needed; it was the foundation of the Public Domain, and also of the system of territorial government.

Effect of the cession of western lands.

141. Weakness of the Confederation. (1781-1786.)—The Articles of Confederation were of little practical use. Perhaps the most important result was that they helped to accustom the people to the idea of union. By the time they went into force, local jealousies had become so

¹ In this year West Virginia was set off from Virginia.

Weakness
of the Con-
federation.

strong that the interests of the united colonies held a secondary place in men's minds. It was almost impossible to get enough delegates to attend Congress to carry on even the routine business of that body: again and again adjournments were made because no quorum was present.

No power
to enforce
laws.

By the Articles of Confederation Congress had large powers, but they were mostly of an advisory nature, and it had no means of enforcing its acts; it was completely at the mercy of the states, which did as they pleased. Unable to regulate foreign commerce, to raise revenue to pay its debts, or to enforce its acts, the Confederation soon fell into contempt, both at home and abroad; its credit was gone; and England openly violated the provisions of the treaty of peace.

Shays's
Rebellion.

The prosperity which had been expected to follow the declaration of peace had not come; the finances of the country were in a wretched state, and taxes were necessarily very burdensome. In western Massachusetts many refused to pay their taxes and resisted the collection of debts by the courts. A rising, known from the leader in it, as Shays's Rebellion,¹ was speedily put down (1786), but made a great impression on the sober minds of the country, helping to confirm the feeling that a stronger government was necessary.

142. Interstate Jealousies; Convention proposed. (1781-1787.)—Meanwhile, each state having the power to levy

¹ The people had a real grievance in that taxes were very heavy. Public and private debts were large. It was charged that the rich people did not suffer and the poor did. The burdens were especially heavy upon the farmers. Paper money was demanded, but the Legislature refused to authorize its issue. The lawyers were especially distasteful, and at several places the courts were broken up by mobs. Daniel Shays, a Revolutionary soldier, was the leader. Fourteen of the leaders were sentenced to death, but all were pardoned.

such duty as it pleased upon the traffic with the other states, the whole trade of the country was demoralized, and the most bitter ill-feeling existed. Those who had fought side by side in the Revolution treated one another as aliens.

Individual states passed laws to benefit themselves at the expense of their neighbors. New York laid a heavy duty on butter, cheese, and garden vegetables coming from New Jersey, and on firewood from Connecticut. When Massachusetts practically closed her ports to British ships, Connecticut opened hers freely, and then laid a duty on goods coming from Massachusetts. Pennsylvania tried to injure Delaware and New Jersey, and North Carolina suffered at the hands of Virginia and South Carolina.

State
jealousies

Congress now proposed to the states an amendment to the Articles, giving Congress the power to levy a duty upon imports. But no change could be made in the Articles except by unanimous consent. Rhode Island refused to agree, and Virginia, having once given her consent, withdrew it, so the amendment failed. Washington, and many of those who had done so much to secure the independence of the colonies, were almost in despair.

Amendment
proposed.

A board of commissioners met in 1785, at Alexandria, Virginia, to settle the conflicting claims of Maryland and Virginia in Chesapeake Bay. Through the influence of James Madison of Virginia, who was one of these commissioners, a convention of delegates from all the states was recommended to be called for the following year, to arrange, if possible, some general regulations for commerce.

Alexandria
Conference,
1785.

The Legislature of Virginia, in accordance with this recommendation, sent an invitation to all the states to send delegates to a conference to be held at Annapolis, Maryland, in the following year, 1786. Only five states

Annapolis
Conference,
1786.

Annapolis
Conference,
1786.

sent delegates. The twelve men who met issued a recommendation to all the states to send delegates to a convention



ALEXANDER HAMILTON.

Constitutional Con-
vention,
1787.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON was born on the island of Nevis in the West Indies, in 1757. He came to America in 1772. He was a student at King's College, now Columbia University, in New York City. While still an undergraduate he made a strong speech on the Boston Port Bill, 1774. Later he helped to save the President of the College, who was a Tory, from the fury of a mob that threatened him. He joined the American army in the spring of 1776. In the same year he was appointed on Washington's staff, and soon became his private secretary. In 1781 he entered active military service, and distinguished himself at Yorktown. He was the most ardent advocate of the Constitutional Convention of 1787, and was an important member of it. He was one of the strongest supporters of the new Constitution, and in "The Federalist" explained and defended it with great ability. Washington appointed him the first Secretary of the Treasury, an office which he admirably filled. He was the author of the measures to restore the public credit, and proposed and planned the first Bank of the United States. He was mortally wounded in a duel with Aaron Burr, and died July 12, 1804. He is generally regarded as one of the greatest of American statesmen.

to be held in Philadelphia in May, 1787, "to devise such further provisions as shall appear to them necessary to render the Constitution of the Federal Government adequate to the exigencies of the Union." The Continental Congress approved the plan in February, 1787.

143. The Constitutional Convention. (1787.)—Influenced, doubtless, by Shays's Rebellion, and the failure of the proposed amendment, all the states, except Rhode Island, responded to the call, and on the 25th of May, 1787, the convention began its work in Independence Hall, Philadelphia.

Washington, who was a delegate from Virginia, was chosen president of the convention. It was without doubt one of the ablest bodies of men that ever came together. Besides Washington, there were present Franklin, Hamilton, Madison, Gerry, Robert Morris, Gouverneur Morris, James Wilson, and Rutledge. Jeffer-

son and Adams would undoubtedly have been members had they not been abroad in the service of the country.

Constitutional Convention,
1787.

The defects of the existing government were known to all; the question was, how to remove them. A difficulty arose at the very start; many held that the power of the convention was limited to revision; others, as Hamilton and Madison, held that no revision could remedy the defects, but that an entirely new scheme was necessary. This last opinion prevailed, and the convention set about its work in earnest. None but members were allowed to be present, and the proceedings were kept secret.

144. Compromises. (1787.) — For four months the debates went on. Various plans of government were proposed. Often it seemed as if there were nothing to do but to break up and go home, so strong were the local jealousies. At one time Franklin proposed that the convention should be opened each day with prayer, saying: "The longer I live, the more convincing proofs I see that God governs the affairs of men. . . . Without His concurring aid, we shall be divided by our little local interests, succeeding no better than the builders of Babel, and become a reproach and byword for all future ages. What is worse, mankind may hereafter, from this unfortunate instance, despair of establishing government by human wisdom, and leave it to chance and war." Again, when there seemed little prospect of an agreement, he is reported to have said: "When a joiner wishes to fit two boards, he sometimes pares off a bit from both." Of necessity, compromises were made. The small states had been unwilling to give up any of their power, for fear they might be encroached upon by the larger states. This objection was met by allowing all states an equal representation in the Senate.

Compromises
needful.

Slavery
compro-
mises.

Then the slavery question came up. The extreme South wished the slaves to be counted in apportioning the number of representatives in Congress. This was distasteful to the middle and northern states, as it would give the South more representatives, and tend to encourage the growth of slavery; but believing that some compromise was essential, they gave way, and agreed that five slaves should be counted as equal to three whites. It was also provided that the foreign slave-trade might be prohibited after the year 1808. The compromise in regard to slavery greatly influenced the subsequent history of the country. It practically put the control of the House of Representatives into the hands of the South for about fifty years.

Constitution
a national
issue.

145. A National Question. (1787.)—The Constitution was signed September 17, 1787, made public, and transmitted to the Congress. That body, after a short debate, resolved to send the document to the respective Legislatures, to be by them placed before the people by means of conventions chosen specially for the purpose of considering it.

Federalists.

For the first time, a truly national issue was before the country. The question was: Should the new plan of government be adopted or rejected? Those who favored the adoption were called Federalists, and those who opposed the adoption, Anti-Federalists.

Anti-
Federalists.

Both parties were patriotic. The Anti-Federalists feared the power of a strong central government; they thought it would take away too much power from the states, and might result in tyranny similar to that of Great Britain, against which they had revolted. Samuel Adams, Patrick Henry, and George Clinton were strong opposers of the new Constitution, and against their patriotism no word could be spoken.

The Federalists, on the contrary, believed that unless a strong central government should be set up, the Union would go to pieces. They did not advocate the new scheme as an ideal form of government, but as the best attainable under the circumstances. They had the two-fold advantage of proposing a definite remedy for a pressing and obvious evil, and of having, with a few exceptions, the ablest and most trusted men on their side; for Washington, Hamilton, Madison, and Franklin were all earnest supporters of the new plan.

The
Federalists.

146. The Constitution discussed. (1788.)—Congress had referred the Constitution to the states without comment, leaving the people to decide for themselves. The questions which had been so earnestly debated in the convention were now taken up by the people and discussed with equal earnestness. Both in public and in private the advantages and disadvantages of the new scheme were pointed out. In the newspapers of the day, throughout the country, essays upon the proposed Constitution appeared in almost every issue. These were widely read and influenced public opinion greatly.¹

Discussion.

147. Adoption of the Constitution. (1788.)—By the close of the year 1787, Delaware, Pennsylvania, and New Jersey had in special conventions adopted the new Constitution; shortly afterward Georgia and Connecticut followed. The adherence of four more states was needful for success. Massachusetts acceded only with the understanding that certain amendments should be made as soon as

Constitution
adopted,
1788.

¹ A remarkable series of papers appeared in the New York newspapers under the signature of Publius, but written by Hamilton, Madison, and Jay, strongly advocating the adoption of the Constitution, and explaining its provisions. These papers, of which the greater number were by Hamilton, were afterward collected and published under the title of "The Federalist," and still remain one of the ablest expositions of the Constitution.

practicable. These were in the nature of a Bill of Rights (see the first ten Amendments to the Constitution).

New Hampshire the ninth state.

While the question was being decided, there was great excitement among the people; it was not until June 21, 1788, by the vote of New Hampshire, that the assent of nine states, the requisite number, was obtained. Virginia followed immediately after New Hampshire, making ten, and New York soon made eleven.¹

Federalist rejoicing.

When it was known that a sufficient number of states had ratified the Constitution, the Federalists gave them-



CONGRESS HALL, PHILADELPHIA.

National Capitol in 1790-1800.

selves up to wild demonstrations of joy. The great event was celebrated by processions with emblematic representations of the states, of the French alliance, of the Union (as the "Ship of State"), and many other figures representing different trades and interests. In the celebration in

New York City the name of Hamilton was inscribed upon the car which bore the "Ship of State," in recognition of his influence in bringing about the wished-for result.

¹ North Carolina and Rhode Island held aloof; the former until November 21, 1789, the latter, until May 29, 1790.

In Baltimore the name of "Federal Hill" still remains to preserve the memory of the rejoicings in that city.

Congress, on September 13, 1788, appointed the first Wednesday in the following January for the choice by the people of Presidential electors; the first Wednesday in February for the electors to meet and choose the President and Vice-President; and the first Wednesday in March for the new government to go into operation. This day in 1789 was the fourth of the month, and so the fourth of March, subsequently confirmed by Congress, came to be the inauguration day of each new President.

New gov-
ernment to
begin
fourth of
March, 1789.

148. The New Constitution. — The Constitution in many points is radically different from the Articles of Confederation. It provides for a true central government with power to enforce its laws and regulations independently of the states; Congress is no longer an advisory body.

The Consti-
tution the
supreme
law.

Within its sphere the Constitution is the supreme law of the land. The national government regulates all matters of national interest, such as peace, war, commerce (both foreign and that between the states), relations with foreign states, coinage of money, and post-offices. By its exclusive right to levy duties on imports, as well as its right to lay other taxes and enforce their payment, the national treasury is made independent of the states.

The national government is divided by the Constitution into three parts: the Legislative, or Congress, to make the laws; the Executive, or the President and his subordinates, to carry out the laws which Congress makes; and the Judiciary, or the Supreme Court and lower courts, to try cases arising under national laws. The United States courts also decide whether laws are constitutional, but only when real cases bringing such laws in question come up for trial.

Legislative,
Executive,
and Judicial
depart-
ments.

The Legis-
lative, or
Congress.

149. The Legislative Powers. — The legislative power is vested in the Congress of the United States, which consists of a Senate and a House of Representatives. Each state has two senators, who are chosen by the state legislatures, and serve six years. Representatives are chosen by the people of the states; they serve two years, and their number in each state is according to the population, but each state is entitled to at least one representative. These two "Houses," as they are called, must concur in making laws. When a bill is passed by both houses, it is sent to the President for his signature; if he approves it, he signs it, and it becomes a law. If he does not approve it, he returns it to Congress with a message called a veto; if Congress should pass the bill again by a two-thirds vote, it becomes a law notwithstanding the veto; also if the President does not return the bill within ten days, Sundays excepted, after he receives it, it becomes a law.

The Senate has some special powers; when treaties are made by the President, they must be approved by two-thirds of the Senate before they become effective; most of the President's appointments to office must be confirmed by the Senate. The election of senators is so arranged that only one-third go out of office every two years, thus making it a continuous body, unlike the House of Representatives, which must be elected anew every two years. But a representative may be reelected as often as the people of his district wish.

The Execu-
tive, or
President.

150. The Executive. — The executive power is vested in a President of the United States of America. He is chosen nominally by electors¹ elected by the people, and

¹ It was originally expected that the electors would themselves choose a man for President, but now they always choose that man who has been nominated by the party which they represent.

holds his office during a term of four years. The President is commander-in-chief of the army and the navy of the United States, and of the militia of the several states when called into actual service of the United States; he has the power to make treaties, providing two-thirds of the Senate concur; to nominate, and, with the consent of the Senate, appoint ambassadors, other public ministers and consuls, judges of the Supreme Court, and most of the important officers of the government. He is to see that the laws are faithfully executed, and if he is unfaithful, or guilty of crime or misdemeanor, he may be accused by the House of Representatives and tried by the Senate.

A Vice-President is elected at the same time as the President, to take his place in case of the removal of the President from office, or of his death, resignation, or inability to discharge the duties of the office. The Vice-President is the presiding officer of the Senate, but has no vote except in the case of a tie. Both the President and the Vice-President must be native-born citizens of the United States and be at least thirty-five years old.

151. The Judiciary. — The judicial power of the United States is vested in one Supreme Court, and in such lower courts as the Congress may from time to time establish. All the judges hold office during good behavior. Whenever any of the laws of the national government are broken, or a question arises as to the meaning of a law, or as to whether any law is in accordance with the Constitution, the case, with a few exceptions, is first tried in one of the lower courts. If the persons concerned are not satisfied with the decision, they may appeal to a higher court, and in certain cases to the Supreme Court whose decision is final.

152. Amendment; Checks and Balances. — One of the

Amend-
ment.

most important features of the Constitution is the provision made for amendment; but no change can be made without the concurrence of three-fourths of the states; and no state can, without its own consent, in any case be deprived of its equal vote in the Senate.

Checks and
balances.

It will be seen that the government thus created has many checks and balances, the most important of which are two houses of Congress, the veto power of the President, the power of the Supreme Court to pronounce a law unconstitutional, and the frequent election of representatives.

Some of the features of the Constitution are new, but as a whole, it is the result of careful study of other forms of government, and, above all, of the practical experience which those who framed it had gained in the government of the states and colonies. Nearly all of its most important features are taken from the state and colonial governments.

SUMMARY.

Many problems had to be solved by the states, among them land claims were the most difficult. Articles of Confederation had been signed in 1781, but the Confederation was weak because the Congress had no power to enforce its measures. Even after independence had been gained there were so many jealousies that it seemed as if the union would go to pieces. The Confederation was discredited both at home and abroad. This was the "Critical Period of American History." A convention held at Philadelphia in 1787 prepared the Constitution. In the course of less than a year this was adopted by nine states and went into full operation April 30, 1789, when Washington, who had been chosen President, was inaugurated. The Constitution provides for a government with Legislative, Executive, and Judicial branches. There are many checks and balances. The Constitution may be amended.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xl.

CHAPTER VIII.

ORGANIZATION OF THE NEW GOVERNMENT.

REFERENCES.

T. W. Higginson's *Larger History of the United States*, pp. 309-344; A. B. Hart, *Source-Book*, Chap. xi.; C. C. Coffin, *Building of the Nation*.

153. Washington President; Starting the New Government. (1789.)—The 4th of March was the day fixed upon

for the new government to go into operation, but so slow were the members of Congress in reaching New York, the place chosen, that it was the 6th of April before a quorum of both houses was present. On that day the electoral votes for President and Vice-President were counted in the presence of both houses, in Federal Hall, and the result officially declared. George Washington, as had been expected, received a unanimous vote, and was accordingly chosen

President. John Adams, who received the next highest number, was declared Vice-President. The official news of the election was sent to Washington by a special mes-

Washington
chosen
President.

[For portrait see frontispiece.]

GEORGE WASHINGTON, the son of Augustine and Mary Ball Washington, was born at Bridges Creek, Virginia, February 22, 1732. He received little schooling, but was earnest and careful in his work. In addition to reading, writing, and arithmetic, he learned surveying and book-keeping. He was strong and athletic, and was more than a match for any of his companions. While yet a youth he surveyed for Lord Fairfax a large tract of land in the Shenandoah Valley, then a wilderness. He was major in the militia at nineteen, and when only twenty-one was sent to the French posts on the Ohio. He was a member of the Congress of 1774 and of 1775. From this time his history is that of his country. He married, 1759, Martha Parke Custis, a rich young widow. He inherited his brother's large estate, which included Mount Vernon. He is universally regarded as one of the greatest men in history. He died at Mount Vernon, December 14, 1799.

John Adams,
Vice-Presi-
dent.

senger, Charles Thomson, the secretary of the old Continental Congress. Washington's journey from Mount Vernon to New York was a continuous triumphal procession; "men, women, and children of all ages, classes, and conditions gathered by the roadside, and often stood in waiting for many hours to see him as he passed by."

"Guns were fired, triumphal arches were erected, and flowers were strewn in the roads over which his carriage was to pass." He was received at New York City with the greatest enthusiasm. Six days after his arrival, April 30,



FEDERAL HALL, NEW YORK.

National Capitol in 1789.

1789, the inauguration took place on the balcony of Federal Hall, which stood on the corner of Wall and Broad streets. There, in the presence of Congress and of a great multitude of people, Washington took the oath of office, which was administered by Robert R. Livingston, chancellor of the state of New York.

154. Ordinance of 1787. — Meanwhile the old Continental Congress had done little that is worthy of mention; one act, however, passed while the constitutional convention was in session, deserves special notice. This is what is known as the Ordinance of 1787, for organizing the Northwest Territory. This was the territory which was ceded to the United States by Massachusetts, New York, Vir-

Inauguration
of
Washington,
1789.

Ordinance
of 1787.

ginia, and Connecticut, and comprised the country west of Pennsylvania, north of the Ohio, and east of the Mississippi. The chief provisions of the Ordinance were (1) that not less than three nor more than five states should be formed out of it; (2) that slavery should forever be prohibited within its borders; (3) that there should be perfect religious freedom; (4) that schools and the means of education should be forever encouraged; (5) that the writ of *habeas corpus* and trial by jury should be guaranteed. A form of government was provided for, and the territory was divided into parts, but when any such division should have a population of sixty thousand, that division might become a state if certain conditions were complied with. This Ordinance was confirmed by the new Congress, and under its provision Ohio, Indiana, Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin have become states. It has also been the model for the organization of all the subsequent territories, though some of its provisions have been often left out, notably that respecting slavery.

Ordinance
of 1787.

Though the Continental Congress had been one of the most noteworthy assemblies that the world has ever seen, it closed its career unnoticed and almost in contemptuous neglect. The last roll-call was on October 10, 1788.

Continental
Congress
ceases to
exist.

155. Organization. (1789.) — The first task which lay before the new Congress was the organization of the government. How successfully this was done is shown by the fact that the organization to-day is in all essential points unchanged from what was then established. Four of the executive departments were established: State, Treasury, War, and Justice. At the head of these Washington placed respectively Thomas Jefferson, Alexander Hamilton, Henry Knox, and Edmund Randolph. John Jay was appointed Chief Justice of the Supreme Court.

Organiza-
tion of the
government.

Amend-
ments pro-
posed and
adopted.

Among the important measures which demanded the attention of Congress were amendments to the Constitution. Twelve were proposed, most of them intended to guard the rights and privileges of the people and of the states. Ten of these, subsequently adopted (1791) by three-fourths of the states, became part of the Constitution. While it may be safely said that these "took from the Union no power it ought ever to have exercised," they gave much popular satisfaction.

Revenue.

156. Revenue. (1789.) — A question of the utmost importance was that of raising revenue. It was the subject which had really brought about the adoption of the Constitution. Congress had now ample power in the matter. There are two main sources from which nations usually draw revenue: taxes on imports and taxes on domestic manufactures. Both of these were now used. A tariff bill laying duties on imports¹ was passed, and, in 1791, a tax was laid on the home manufacture of spirits.

Before Congress met for the second session, North Carolina had ratified the Constitution, leaving Rhode Island to follow soon.

The First
Congress.

157. The First Congress; The Public Debt; The National Capital. (1790.) — Among other measures passed at this session were a census act, a naturalization act, a patent act, and a copyright act. But the most important measure of all was the plan proposed by Hamilton for paying the debt of the United States incurred on account of the Revolutionary War. The credit of the country was at its lowest, the interest on the debt of the old

¹ It is interesting to note that in the "tariff-for-revenue" act of this first Congress under the Constitution, the principle of protection to domestic manufactures was recognized in the title of the bill, and that iron, hemp, cotton, salt, and other articles were slightly protected.

Confederacy was long overdue, while the holders of the obligations at home had almost given up the hope of being paid.

Payment of the debt of the United States.

Alexander Hamilton, the Secretary of the Treasury, believed that nothing would help the country in the eyes of the world more than the payment of the foreign debt; he believed also that the Union would be greatly strengthened, not only by the payment of the domestic obligations, but also by the assumption by the government¹ of the state debts as well. The total amount to be provided for, including back interest, was nearly eighty millions of dollars, a vast sum for those days.

There was strong opposition to that part of the plan which proposed that the national government should assume the state debts. This opposition was chiefly from the southern states, some of which had small debts, or had made arrangements with their creditors. Hamilton's plan was adopted, but only by means of a compromise in regard to the location of the permanent capital of the nation. It was agreed that the South should give up her opposition to the assumption of the state debts, and the North should allow the national capital to be on the banks of the Potomac. It was also agreed that the seat of government should be at Philadelphia until 1800, when it should be moved to the permanent site.

Assumption of state debts.

158. First Census (1790); First Bank of the United States (1791); New Coinage (1792.) — The first census of the United States was taken in 1790, and showed a population of very nearly four millions (see Appendix V.) divided almost exactly between the free and slave states, and including nearly seven hundred thousand slaves.

First census 1790.

¹ The assumption of the state debts meant that the national government would pay them.

With the exception of the inhabitants of Kentucky and Tennessee, nearly all the people lived within less than three hundred miles of the seacoast.

Bank of the
United
States.

A part of Hamilton's plan for the improvement of the financial condition of the country (sect. 157) was the establishment of a Bank of the United States, or national bank. The plan was opposed as strongly as the assumption of the state debts. After much discussion it was adopted, and a bank was chartered for twenty years. This institution was a great help to the business of the country, as its bills were good everywhere and were accepted by everybody.

When the Constitution was adopted there were, with the exception of a few copper cents, no United States coins; state bills or foreign coins were used. The cost of articles of trade, or the amount of a man's property was reckoned in pounds, shillings, and pence, or in Spanish dollars.

Decimal
coinage.

It was fitting that the United States should have its own reckoning and make its own coins. To effect this, Congress established a mint in Philadelphia, and in 1792 fixed what coins should be struck. A decimal system arranged by the Continental Congress in 1786 was adopted. It was a long time, however, before dollars and cents were used in everyday reckoning; in some country places one may still hear old people speak of shillings and pence, and many persons say "a penny," when they mean a cent.

New States.

159. New States; Indian Wars. (1790-1794.)—At its third session the First Congress was called upon to exercise another important power—that of admitting new states to the Union. Acts were passed providing for the admission of Vermont and Kentucky, which came into the Union in 1791 and 1792 respectively.

Meantime the settlers had been pushing their way westward, entering the territory which the Indians claimed as their own. Resenting this intrusion, the Indians attacked the settlements all along the frontier, and killed or carried into captivity hundreds of settlers. The government was forced to send troops to the frontier. Several of these expeditions were unsuccessful, and an army under General St. Clair was surprised and routed with great loss of life at the head-waters of the Wabash near the western boundary of the Ohio. Indian wars.

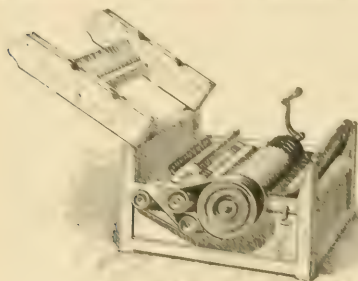
It was not until 1794, when General Wayne was sent against them, that the Indians were forced to submit, and to give up a large tract of land in return for a yearly payment of money and goods.

160. Whiskey Insurrection. (1794.) — A new danger threatened the government. Among the acts of Congress was the passage of a law taxing whiskey. This tax the distillers in western Pennsylvania refused to pay, on the ground that they were treated unfairly, it being impossible for them to transport grain to market except at a loss, while in the form of whiskey it could be done at a profit. So threatening was their attitude, that Washington felt compelled to send several thousand troops to Pittsburg. The firmness of the government and the display of force were sufficient to restore order. This affair, known as the Whiskey Insurrection, was of importance because through it the people learned for the first time, that there was a strong national government which could and would enforce its laws. “Whiskey Insurrection.”

161. Eli Whitney; Cotton-gin. — While the attention of the country was attracted by questions of domestic and foreign policy, a young man of twenty-eight invented, in Georgia, a machine which was indirectly to influence the Eli Whitney.

Cotton-gin.

history of the country far more than most of the subjects then filling the popular mind. This was the cotton-gin. Eli Whitney was a native of Massachusetts, who had gone South for the purpose of teaching. He had already shown inventive abilities, and, while visiting at the house of the widow of General Greene, had his attention called to the difficulty of separating the fibre of the cotton from the seed. He devised (1793) the cotton-gin, by means of which one person could clean a hundred or more pounds of cotton in



WHITNEY'S COTTON GIN.

After the original model.

Effect of
Whitney's
invention.

a day. Formerly it took one day to clean one pound. The machine gave an enormous impetus to the raising of cotton, and this brought about a great demand for slave labor, by which alone it was supposed the cotton plant could be successfully cultivated; it led also to the building of the great cotton mills of New England. Cotton rapidly became the chief staple of the South, the exports rising from 180,500 pounds in 1791 to 21,000,000 pounds in 1801. The feeling against slavery soon almost disappeared in the South, and with few exceptions the system was upheld as a "positive good." Eli Whitney himself reaped comparatively little advantage from his great invention, nearly all the money he received being spent in defending his patents.¹

162. Party Feeling. (1780-1796). — Washington, in

¹ Whitney, however, was afterward very successful in manufacturing arms for the government, and died a wealthy man.

forming his Cabinet, chose men from both parties; thus, Hamilton, the leader of the Federalists, and Jefferson, the leader of the Anti-Federalists, were members of it. It was not long before party spirit showed itself; party lines were clearly drawn, and Washington's patience and skill were put to a test in keeping the peace in the Cabinet, where, Jefferson says, "I and Hamilton were pitted against each other like fighting-cocks." In Congress, also, and in the country at large, public questions were hotly discussed; it is doubtful if party feeling in America ever ran higher.

Party feeling.

The Federalists believed in a strong central government; they held that the power of the individual states should be greatly limited, while that of the central government should be correspondingly increased. The Anti-Federalists, or, as they now began to call themselves, the Democratic-Republicans, on the other hand, believed that the state governments should have all the power that was possible. They feared that local rights and privileges would be curtailed; some of them even believed that the Federalists were trying to set up a monarchy.

The Federalists.

Anti-Federalists.

The Democratic-Republicans were strongest in the South; the Federalists, in the North. The former were great admirers of everything French; the latter were accused of sympathy with England and English institutions.

163. Affairs in Europe. (1793.) — Affairs in Europe were at this time very much disturbed. In France the reforming movement, which, stimulated by able writers, was felt in all Europe, had resulted in a terrible revolution. The great majority of the inhabitants of the United States at first hailed this revolution with joy; but soon the dreadful excesses which were committed in the name of liberty changed the feeling of Americans. The French had set up a republic, and expected that the United States would

Europe.

French Revolution.

of course aid them in the war which had broken out between France and England. Washington and other thoughtful men saw that the true policy of the United States was to keep out of European quarrels, and he issued a proclamation stating that the country would be strictly neutral. The French government had sent out as minister a man named Genet, who disregarding Washington's proclamation, proceeded to enlist

Genet.



JOHN JAY.

JOHN JAY was born in New York, December 12, 1745. He graduated at King's College, now Columbia University, 1764. He was a member of the Continental Congress, 1774, and drew up the address to the people of Great Britain. He was President of Congress, 1778. He was one of the commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, 1782-1783. He supported the new Constitution and was one of the writers of "The Federalist." Washington appointed him the first Chief Justice of the United States. He resigned, 1795. Washington sent him to Great Britain, 1794, and after much difficulty he negotiated the "Jay Treaty" which raised such a storm of opposition in America. He was twice Governor of New York. He died, May 17, 1829. It was said of him that his character was as pure as the ermine which he wore.

Jay's Treaty.

men for the French army, and fit out privateers for the French service. As Genet paid no attention to the remonstrances of the American government, Washington requested his recall by the French government. This course averted a war with Great Britain.

164. Jay's Treaty; Treaties with Spain, etc. (1794-1796.)—France was not the only nation of which the United States had cause to complain. Part of the treaty of 1783 had not been carried out by Great Britain. She retained many of the western and northern posts, among them Detroit, Niagara, and Oswego; and she had refused to pay for the negroes carried off at the end of the war. Besides this, on various pre-

texts, she had seized American vessels on the ocean. The reason of this conduct was that Great Britain believed neither in the permanency of the Confederation, nor in the power of the United States to resist.

On the other hand, Great Britain complained that it was impossible for her citizens to collect their just debts in America. In the hope of preventing war, Washington sent John Jay to England to try to negotiate a treaty which would settle the causes of irritation. Jay was at this time Chief Justice of the United States, but there was so little business before the Supreme Court that he could be easily absent for months. He returned in 1795 with the treaty which has since borne his name.

Jay's treaty was severely criticised, for it neither abolished the right claimed by Great Britain to search American vessels for British seamen, nor did it take away the cause for complaint in relation to trade with the West Indies. It did, however, provide for the giving up of the forts on the border, for commercial regulations, and for the settlement of debts. Jay's own defence was, that it was the best that could be done. Washington signed the treaty, and the result showed the wisdom of his so doing. Bad as the treaty was in many respects, it averted a war, it settled several important matters, and it forced England to recognize the United States in a way she had not done hitherto.

A treaty was also made with Spain, fixing the boundaries between the United States and the Spanish possessions in America, granting free navigation of the Mississippi to each, and making regulations as to commerce. Other treaties were made with Algiers and Tripoli, but at a cost of a yearly payment of money to those powers. By these latter treaties, prisoners were released, and the commerce of the United States was to be unmolested.

Jay's Treaty.

Treaties
with other
powers.

Washington's Farewell Address.

165. **Washington's Farewell Address. (1796.)**—As the close of his second term approached, Washington made public his determination not to be a candidate a third time. Before returning to private life, for which he longed, he issued his Farewell Address, a document full of political wisdom and valuable advice.¹ Though Washington was assisted in its composition by Hamilton and others, there seems to be no doubt that in all important respects it was his own work. In it he exhorts the people to preserve the Union; to refrain from sectional feelings; to avoid "over-



THE GOLD MEDAL PRESENTED TO WASHINGTON BY CONGRESS.

grown military establishments, which under any form of government are inauspicious to liberty"; to beware of hasty changes of the Constitution; to guard against the excess of party spirit; to make religion and morality the foundation of the government, remembering that "reason and experience forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principles."

He advises that the diffusion of knowledge should be promoted, and the public credit cherished, as being impor-

¹ The Address is dated September 17, 1796. It was first printed in Claypole's *American Daily Advertiser*, Philadelphia, September 19, 1796.

tant sources of strength and security; that good faith and credit should be observed toward all nations, but that the people should be "constantly awake against the insidious wiles of foreign influence," and that, in regard to foreign nations, the great rule should be, "in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little political connection as possible."

166. Election of Adams. (1796.)—With the election of 1796 began political strife for the office of President. There was shown a great deal of that party spirit against which Washington had spoken in his Farewell Address. The Federalist electors voted for John Adams, the Vice-President; and the Democratic-Republicans, for Thomas Jefferson. A majority of the votes were for Adams, who was accordingly elected. Jefferson had the next highest number of votes, so he became Vice-President. A serious defect in the Constitution was now seen, in that it almost insured the election in future of a President and Vice-President from different parties. Such a state of affairs would tend to bring about a lack of harmony in the administration, and in case of the death of the President, one who did not

John Adams
elected
President.



JOHN ADAMS.

JOHN ADAMS was born in Massachusetts, October 30, 1735. He graduated at Harvard College, taught school, and studied law. He was active in opposition to the Stamp Act. He was sent to the Continental Congress of 1774 and 1775, and was on the most important committees, among them that to draft the Declaration of Independence. He was minister of the United States to France, and was one of the commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Peace with Great Britain, and was the first minister to that country from the United States. He was Vice-President through both of Washington's terms, and was elected President in 1796. He was able and independent but irritable. He died July 4, 1826, exactly fifty years after the Declaration of Independence.

Defects in
the method
of election.

represent the views of the majority would succeed to the office.¹

Difficulties
with France,
1787.

167. Difficulties with France. (1797.)—Adams found the country in friendly relations with all foreign states except France, to which country Jay's treaty was very distasteful. The United States was charged with favoring Great Britain and granting her privileges denied to France; the French minister in America was ordered by the French Directory to return to France, and the American minister at Paris was refused recognition by the French government. Napoleon Bonaparte's great victories in Italy over the Austrian forces gave the French government confidence, and laws hurtful to American commerce were passed, American vessels were seized, and the vessels and cargoes were sold.

X. Y. Z.
letters.

Adams, anxious to avoid war, sent a special mission to France, choosing John Marshall, Elbridge Gerry, and Charles C. Pinckney as envoys. They were, if possible, to arrange the matters in dispute and to negotiate a new treaty which would be satisfactory both to France and the United States. The envoys were treated with great indignity by the French government, and were told that before any negotiations were begun a large sum of money must be paid to the Directory. Such a course was spurned by the envoys, who were soon ordered to leave France. The letters which had passed between the envoys and the secret agents of the Directory were published by the United States government and are known as the "X. Y. Z. correspondence."²

¹ In 1804 a change was made in the mode of electing. See Appendix II., Amendment xii.

² So called because the letters X. Y. and Z. were used instead of the real names of the French agents.

These papers and the report of the envoys had the effect of uniting the American people, and in accordance with the popular feeling, Congress prepared for war with France. The treaties with her were declared revoked, and acts were passed to increase the army and navy. Washington was appointed commander of the land forces. Naval vessels were ordered to capture French armed ships, and under this order several French vessels were taken.

Getting ready for war.

168. Alien and Sedition Laws; Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions. (1798-1799.)—During this time of excitement the Federalists had succeeded in passing through Congress two acts known as the Alien and Sedition Laws.

Alien and sedition laws.

The Alien law allowed the President to order out of the country any alien whom he should judge dangerous to the peace and safety of the United States; and should any such refuse to go, he was, upon conviction, to be imprisoned.

The Sedition law provided that those who should unlawfully combine or conspire against the government, or who should utter or publish anything false, scandalous, or malicious against it or the President or Congress, should be imprisoned and heavily fined.

These laws became very unpopular, especially with the Democratic-Republicans, who claimed that the Sedition law was contrary to the first amendment of the Constitution.

As a protest, the legislatures of Virginia and Kentucky each passed a series of resolutions, respectively known as the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798.¹ The substance of these documents was that these special acts of Congress were unconstitutional, and that whenever the

Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.

¹ Kentucky added another resolution in 1799. Jefferson prepared those adopted by Kentucky, and Madison those adopted by Virginia. The connection of these statesmen with the Resolutions was not known until long after.

Federal government went beyond its powers, the states should unite in refusing obedience. The President did not

in a single instance make use of the Alien act, and the convictions under the Sedition act were not very many. Both acts were limited in time and soon expired.

169. Death of Washington; Treaty with France. (1799-1801.) — Party strife was for a short time held in check by the death of Washington at Mount Vernon, December 14, 1799. The whole country mourned for him who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his fellow-citizens." In Europe his death was regarded as a loss to mankind, and tributes to his worth were published in every civilized country.

Meanwhile, Adams had sent three new envoys to France, who negotiated a treaty with Napoleon Bonaparte,

WASHINGTON ENTOMBED.

George Town, Dec. 20.

On Wednesday last, the mortal part of WASHINGTON the Great—the Father of his Country and the Friend of man, was consigned to the tomb, with solemn honors and funeral pomp.

A multitude of persons assembled, from many miles round, at Mount Vernon, the choice abode and last residence of the illustrious chief. There were the groves—the spacious avenues, the beautiful and sublime scenes, the noble mansion—but, alas! the august inhabitant *was now no more*. That great soul was *gone*. His mortal part was there indeed; but ah! how affecting! how awful the spectacle of such worth and greatness, thus, to mortal eyes, fallen!—Yes! fallen! fallen!

In the long and lofty *Portico*, where oft the Hero walked in all his glory, *now* lay the shrouded corpse. The countenance still composed and serene, seemed to depress the dignity of the spirit, which lately dwelt in that lifeless form. There those who paid the last sad honours to the benefactor of his country, took an impressive—a farewell view.

On the ornament, at the head of the coffin, was inscribed *SURGE AD JUDICIUM*—about the middle of the coffin, *GLORIA DEO*—and on the silver plate,

GENERAL

GEORGE WASHINGTON,

Departed this life, on the 14th December, 1799, *Æt.* 68.

Between three and four o'clock, the sound of artillery from a vessel in the river, firing minute guns, awoke afresh our solemn sorrow—the corps was moved—a band of music with mournful melody melt-

FACSIMILE FROM "THE ULSTER COUNTY GAZETTE," JANUARY 4, 1800.

Death of
Washing-
ton, Decem-
ber 14, 1799.

now First Consul. This treaty (1801) was satisfactory to all except those who had lost property by the capture of vessels or in other ways. Such persons in both countries had to look to their own government to make good their losses. This is the origin of the so-called "French Spoliation Claims," which are still partly unsettled.

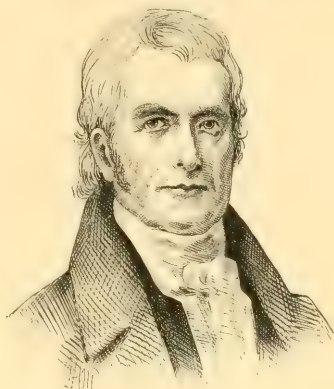
170. The New Capital; John Marshall. (1800-1801.)

In 1800 the seat of government was moved to Washington¹ on the Potomac, which had been chosen as the site of the new capital. The corner-stone of the Capitol building had been laid by Washington himself in 1791. The city was laid out on a very large scale, and was for seventy years a straggling, ill-built town; it was in fact what it had been called in jest, "a city of magnificent distances."

In 1801 Adams appointed John Marshall Chief Justice of the United States in place of Oliver Ellsworth, who had resigned on account of ill health. For thirty-four years Marshall was at the head of the national judiciary.

¹ Washington City was first called The Federal City. Washington himself always so spoke of it.

Treaty with France, 1780.



JOHN MARSHALL.

Washington becomes the capital.

JOHN MARSHALL was born in Virginia, September 24, 1755. He was well educated at home, but never attended college. He entered the Revolutionary army in 1776, and remained until 1781, when he resigned and devoted himself to the study of law. He rose steadily in his profession. He was several times member of the Virginia Legislature, and was an active supporter of the adoption of the Constitution. He was member of Congress, 1799-1800, Secretary of State, 1800. President Adams appointed him Chief Justice of the United States in 1801. He is universally regarded as the greatest American jurist. He was a man of the highest personal character and was agreeable and attractive in his manners. He died in Philadelphia, July 6, 1835.

John Marshall, Chief Justice.

His influence upon his associates was great, and the "Constitution since its adoption owes more to him than to any other single mind for its true interpretation and vindication."

171. Jefferson President. (1801.)—As the time came near for the election of a new President, it was evident that the Democratic-Republicans were in the majority. The Federalists had fallen greatly in public esteem by their ill-concealed distrust of the people, and especially by the passage of the unwise Alien and Sedition acts.

The candidate of the Democratic-Republicans was Thomas Jefferson; of the Federalists, John Adams. When the electoral votes were counted, it was found that Jefferson and Burr, both Republicans, had a majority of the votes, but that they had received an equal number of votes. There was, therefore, no election, and, by the Constitution, the House of Representatives had to choose which should be President. The House, which had been elected two years before, had a Federalist majority, but was restricted in choice to candidates of the opposite party;¹ on the thirty-sixth ballot for President, Jefferson was chosen, and Aaron Burr became Vice-President.

172. Federalist Influence. — The Federalists seldom, if ever, had a real popular majority; the great influence of Washington, the implicit confidence felt in him, and the skill of Hamilton and other party leaders had enabled the party to control the government as long as it did. Short as was this control, it had a lasting influence upon the country, for under it the whole system of government was shaped and set in motion. The decisions of the Supreme Court, moreover, were mainly on Federalist lines of thought, until the death of Chief Justice Marshall in 1835.

¹ Constitution, Article II. sect. i. [3].

Thomas
Jefferson
chosen
President by
House of
Representatives.

Federalist
influence.

SUMMARY.

The new Congress was so slow in coming together that it was the 6th of April before the electoral votes were counted. Washington was unanimously elected President. John Adams was chosen Vice-President. The inauguration took place at New York, April 30, 1789.

Congress organized the various departments of the government, and passed many important bills, among them acts relating to the census, naturalization, patents, and copyrights. It provided for paying the Revolutionary debt, fixed the capital of the country for ten years at Philadelphia, and then on the banks of the Potomac River.

The Continental Congress had adjourned *sine die* in October, 1788. Its most important act was the passing of the Ordinance of 1787.

An Indian outbreak was put down by General Wayne. The Whiskey Insurrection in western Pennsylvania tested and showed the power of the national government. Eli Whitney invented the cotton-gin, which gave a great impetus to the raising of cotton. Party feeling ran high, but Washington kept himself above it. The Federalists believed in a strong central government; the Democratic-Republicans believed that the states should have as much power as possible.

France and England went to war, and France wished the United States to aid her. Washington believed that the United States should keep out of foreign quarrels. Jay's treaty with Great Britain caused great complaint in America.

Washington declined a third term as President, and issued his Farewell Address. John Adams was chosen President and Thomas Jefferson Vice-President.

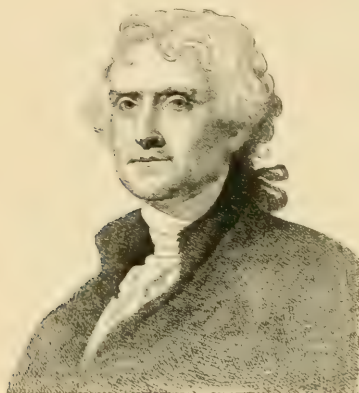
Difficulties arose with France; American envoys were treated with indignity. Congress passed Alien and Sedition acts, and Virginia and Kentucky answered with their Resolutions. Bonaparte, gaining control in France, made a treaty with the United States. Washington died December 14, 1799. Washington City became the capital of the country, 1800. John Marshall was appointed Chief Justice, 1801.

In the election for President, 1800, Jefferson and Burr received an equal number of votes and the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, which chose Jefferson. With the election of Jefferson the control of the Federalists ceased.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xlii.

CHAPTER IX.

EXPERIMENTS IN FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC POLICY.



THOMAS JEFFERSON.

THOMAS JEFFERSON was born in Virginia, April 2, 1743. He graduated at William and Mary College and studied law. He was early chosen a member of the Virginia Legislature and was re-elected for a number of terms. He was sent to the Continental Congress, was chairman of the committee to prepare a Declaration of Independence, and that document is mainly his work. He was governor of Virginia, minister to France, Secretary of State, Vice-President, and President for two terms. He was opposed to slavery, and was active in abolishing the laws which gave to the oldest son the greater part of the father's property. To him the country is principally indebted for the decimal system of money, and for the simplicity observed on state occasions. He died on the fourth of July, 1826, the same day as John Adams, the fiftieth anniversary of the Declaration of Independence.

cases to prevail, that will, to be rightful, must be reasonable; that the minority possess their equal rights. . . .

REFERENCES.

T. W. Higginson, *Larger History of the United States*, pp. 344-370; A. B. Hart, *Source-Book*, Chap. xii.; C. C. Coffin, *Building of the Nation*; S. A. Drake, *Making of the Ohio Valley States*; *Making of the Great West*; H. C. Wright, *Stories of American Progress*.

173. Jefferson inaugurated. (1801.) — The inaugural address of Jefferson was awaited with great curiosity; to the surprise of many it was a calm, dignified document, in which he foretold confidently that the great experiment of government which the people of the United States were trying would be a success. He said that, "though the will of the majority is in all

Jefferson's
inaugural
address,
1801.

Every difference of opinion is not a difference of principle.
 . . . We are all Republicans, we are all Federalists."

Jefferson's policy was : (1) To pay the national debt as soon as practicable ; (2) To keep out of foreign politics ; (3) To introduce as much simplicity as possible into the methods and routine of government.

Washington went to his inauguration in a coach drawn by six horses ; and observed much style on official occasions ; Adams followed his example. Jefferson, true to his

Jefferson
advocates
simplicity.



WASHINGTON FROM THE POTOMAC IN 1801.

From an engraving by R. Phillips.

principles of republican simplicity, walked to the Capitol to give his inaugural address in the Senate Chamber. Washington and Adams were accustomed to go to the Capitol with great ceremony and read their annual messages in person to the Houses of Congress assembled together. Jefferson sent to each House by his secretary a written message. All Presidents since his time have followed this practice. Though Jefferson advocated simplicity in public life, at his own home he lived in the style of other Virginia gentlemen.

174. The Louisiana Question. (1802.) — By the treaty of 1763, in which France gave up her possessions in America to England, Spain had acquired all the country

Louisiana
question.

west of the Mississippi; and in 1783 the Floridas were restored to her.

Louisiana
transferred
to France.

Soon after Jefferson came into office it was learned that in 1800, Spain had by secret treaty, transferred her Louisiana possessions to France. In 1802 the Spanish governor of Louisiana, before the formal transfer of the province to France, forbade foreigners to store merchandise at New Orleans. This "right of deposit," as it was called, had been given by Spain to the United States by previous treaty, and the refusal to continue the agreement at once caused great excitement in the West.

The "right
of deposit."

It was, moreover, a very serious thing to have France instead of Spain for a neighbor. The Mississippi River was the natural outlet for the produce grown on its banks or those of its tributaries. To forbid the deposit of goods at New Orleans was to forbid their export. The western inhabitants of the United States said, "We must either have the right of deposit, or we must own New Orleans; otherwise our trade will be killed."

Jefferson saw that these views were reasonable. He accordingly gave instructions to the minister to France to procure the cession of New Orleans to the United States, by purchase if possible, and he also sent Monroe as a special envoy to Paris.

Napoleon's
plans for
Louisiana.

175. Louisiana bought. (1803.) — At first Napoleon would have nothing to do with the scheme. He had vast plans of his own for colonization. But soon the relations between France and England became such that a renewal of war was certain. Napoleon needed money, and aware that he could not hold Louisiana against England's strong naval power, he suddenly determined to offer to the United States, not New Orleans only, but the whole province as it had been ceded by Spain.

Though the American envoys had no authority to do more than negotiate for the purchase of New Orleans and a strip of territory east of the Mississippi, they took the responsibility of accepting this offer, as they recognized the great value of such an acquisition. The bargain was concluded, and the treaty was signed April 30, 1803. By the terms of this treaty the United States was to pay France about \$15,000,000.¹

The action of the envoys was pleasing to the great majority of the citizens of the United States, though many of the Federalists

opposed it on the ground that it was unconstitutional, and others because they thought the country was too large already.

Jefferson, a "strict constructionist," believed that it would be needful to pass an amendment to the Constitu-

¹ About one-fourth of this sum, however, was to satisfy claims of American citizens on France.

Louisiana
bought,
April 30,
1803.



THE OLD CABILDO OF NEW ORLEANS.

In this the official transfer of Louisiana by France to the United States took place.

The
purchase
approved by
the people.

Congress
approves.

tion, but did not press the matter. Congress at a special session, by a large majority, approved the measure. Possession was taken December 20, 1803.

Effects of
the
purchase.

This, "probably the largest transaction in real estate the world has ever known," delighted the western settlers and pleased the people at large. The vast importance of this purchase to the future welfare of the country was not understood at the time. By a most wonderful combination of circumstances the area of the United States was doubled in extent, and the country given the opportunity to expand without fear of foreign enemies; scarcely ever has a stroke of the pen accomplished more.¹

Lewis and
Clark expe-
dition,
1804-1807.

176. Lewis and Clark Expedition (1804-1806); Pike's Expedition. (1806-1807.)—In 1804 Jefferson sent two officers of the army, Meriwether Lewis and William Clark, a brother of George Rogers Clark (sect. 128), with a party of thirty-four men to explore the country of the Louisiana Purchase, especially the northern and northwestern parts.²

They set out from St. Louis in May, 1804; they followed the Missouri River toward its source, and spent the winter upon its banks. It was about a year before they reached the Rocky Mountains; these they crossed not far from where Helena, Montana, now stands. They suffered

¹ The boundaries of Louisiana were very indefinite, the western portion of the territory being an unknown region both to France and the United States. It is now generally recognized that Oregon was not a part of the purchase. Spain claimed it until 1819, when she gave up the claim in the Florida treaty.

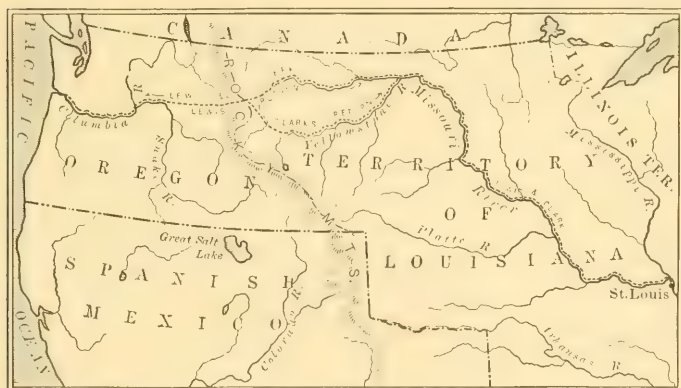
The power of the United States to annex territory, questioned at the time, has since been upheld by the Supreme Court. It is a right which has always been recognized as belonging to sovereign states.

² Jefferson had long thought that the great Northwest should be explored; and had, in fact, early in 1803, secured an appropriation from Congress to defray the cost of an exploring party.

many hardships; sometimes they could advance only five miles in a whole day. The path was rough and stony; sometimes it led along precipices and sometimes through deep cañons. They could get scarcely enough to eat, and so killed and ate their broken-down horses. Still undismayed the explorers kept on. They reached one of the upper tributaries of the Columbia River, and embarked in canoes which they had built. After following the course of this stream for several days they came to the Columbia

Hardships
of Lewis
and Clark.

Columbia
River.



LEWIS AND CLARK'S ROUTE.

itself. Down this broad river they paddled day after day, hoping to reach its mouth. On a rainy, foggy morning in the autumn they were sailing as usual when suddenly the fog lifted and they "enjoyed the delightful prospect of the ocean—that ocean, the object of all their labors, the reward of all their anxieties."

Reach the
Pacific.

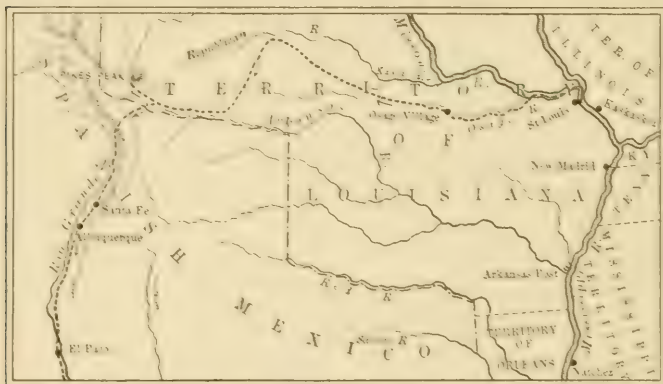
They spent the winter on the Pacific coast, and started on their return journey in the spring, reaching St. Louis in September, 1806, two years and four months after they had first set out. They had explored a large part of the

Results of
Lewis and
Clark's
expedition.

Louisiana territory, and had shown its great value ; besides this, they had discovered and explored a great region beyond the Rocky Mountains. The claim of the United States to the territory out of which Oregon and Washington were afterward formed, was chiefly based on this discovery of Lewis and Clark's, and on the fact that in 1792 a Boston trader, Robert Gray, had visited the mouth of the river, which he called the Columbia, after one of his vessels.

Pike's
expedition.

Jefferson sent Zebulon M. Pike to explore the southwestern part of the Louisiana Purchase. Starting from



PIKE'S ROUTE.

St. Louis in July, 1806, Pike and his party followed the Missouri River to the Osage River, and thence westward. On this journey he ascended a mountain "with great toil, whence he had a view of the Grand Peak" which now bears his name, Pikes Peak.

Though winter came on, and the cold was great, he continued his journey, but turned southward. After suffering intensely from cold and hunger, he and his companions

Pikes Peak.

unknowingly crossed into Spanish territory. The Spaniards discovered them and took them prisoners. They were carried to Santa Fé, but after some time they were released, and returned to the United States by way of Texas. Hardships.

177. War with Barbary States. (1801-1804.)— There had been much trouble with the Barbary States; their vessels were engaged in piracy, and these pirates attacked American shipping, seized the cargoes, destroyed the vessels, and sold the crews into slavery. For many years the United States, like some of the nations of Europe had paid a yearly tribute to escape injury to her commerce. War with
Barbary
States.

The pirates became more and more exacting in their demands, until in 1801 the Dey of Tripoli, incensed at the rejection of his demand for increased tribute, declared war against the United States. This war dragged on until 1804, when the government sent a larger naval force to the Mediterranean and forced Tripoli to make a treaty of peace, the most satisfactory ever wrung from a Barbary state up to that time. Not until 1815, however, were these pirates suppressed.

178. Rotation in Office; Naturalization; Ohio admitted. (1802-1803.)— The practice of rotation in office was followed during the Confederation. Many in the Democratic-Republican party approved of it. Jefferson at first removed few of the Federal officials whom he found in office; but, long before his first term had closed, more than half the important offices were held by new men. In spite of the words in his inaugural, he appointed only men of his own party, and by 1809 there was scarcely a Federalist in the service. Rotation in
office.

In 1802 a new naturalization law was passed, requiring a residence in the country of five years before an alien

Naturaliza-
tion.

could become a citizen of the United States.¹ In the same year internal taxes were done away with, but because of the Tripolitan War the duties on imports were increased.

Ohio ad-
mitted, 1803.

Ohio, the first state formed out of the Northwest Territory, and the seventeenth of the Union, was admitted in the year 1803. Its growth was remarkable, for, though the first truly American settlement was that of Marietta in 1788, the population of Ohio in 1800 was about forty-five thousand.² So favorable were the conditions of growth that in 1820 this state took its place as fifth in point of population, and from the census of 1840 until that of 1890 it was surpassed only by New York and Pennsylvania.³

Duel be-
tween Ham-
ilton and
Burr.

179. Hamilton and Burr. (1804-1807.)—In the summer of 1804 the country was startled by the news that Alexander Hamilton had been killed in a duel by Aaron Burr, the Vice-President.⁴ The prominence of the men increased the horror felt in regard to such a barbarous custom.

Burr's con-
spiracy.

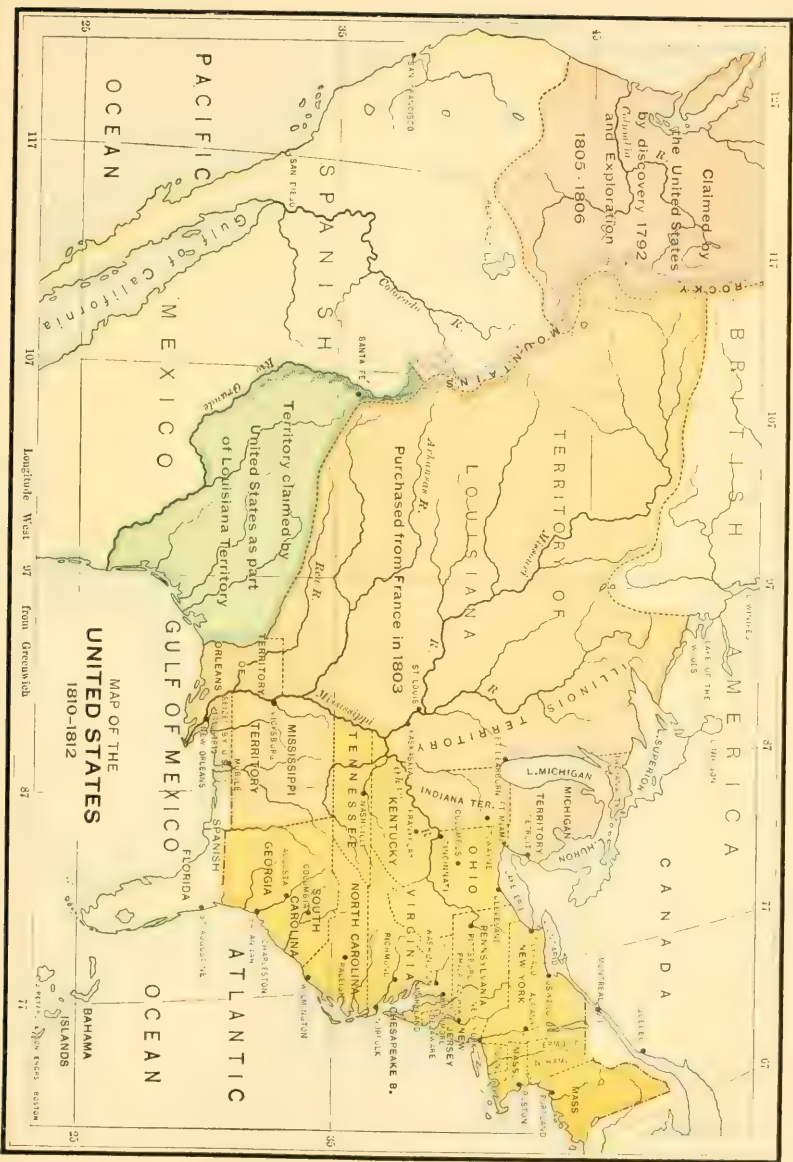
Burr had already become unpopular and distrusted by his party, and so had not been renominated for Vice-President. He now collected a force of men, either for the purpose of setting up a government of his own within the Louisiana Territory, or of attacking the Spanish possessions. In 1807 he was arrested on a charge of treason, and was taken to Richmond, Virginia, for trial before Chief Justice Marshall; but the prosecution failed for want of evidence, as well as for want of jurisdiction.

¹ This period of residence is still required (1901).

² 45,365.

³ In the census of 1890 Illinois took the third place, and Ohio the fourth.

⁴ Burr was an ambitious, unprincipled man. In hope of being chosen governor of New York, he made advances toward the Federalists. He was defeated in the election, mainly through the efforts of Alexander Hamilton.



Disgraced and ruined, Burr disappeared from public view ; he died in neglect and poverty in 1836.

180. Jefferson reëlected ; Public Improvements. (1805.) Jefferson reëlected, 1804.
— Jefferson was renominated for President in 1804, with George Clinton of New York as candidate for Vice-President. The Federalists nominated Charles C. Pinckney of South Carolina and Rufus King of New York. In accordance with the twelfth amendment of the Constitution, ratified September 25, 1804, the electors cast separate ballots for President and Vice-President. Jefferson and Clinton were chosen by a very large majority, the Federalists receiving only 14 out of 176 electoral votes.

At the beginning of Jefferson's second term everything seemed in a highly prosperous state ; the country was growing fast in wealth and population, and the national debt was being rapidly paid.

The President suggested in his inaugural that an amendment should be made to the Constitution to provide for the just division among the states of the surplus revenue to be applied to objects of public improvement, such as "rivers, canals, roads, arts, manufactures, education, and other great objects within each state." Congress, however, believed that the power to appropriate money for public improvements was given or implied in the Constitution, and it exercised this power in voting money in 1806 for a national road west from Cumberland in the state of Maryland. (See map, p. 260.) Public im-
provements.

In view of the vast sums voted for public improvements in late years, and the tendency to seek national aid in almost every enterprise, it is interesting to remember that the legality of such measures was once seriously called in question. In 1807, Congress passed a bill in accordance

Slave trade
prohibited,
1808.

with the Constitution (Art. I., sect. 9), prohibiting the foreign slave trade after January 1, 1808.¹

Napoleon.

181. Affairs in Europe; Napoleon. (1804-1807.)—In 1804 Napoleon Bonaparte became Emperor of France, and the war with Great Britain was carried on more actively than ever. For a time the United States had profited greatly by the war, for, being a neutral power, her ships could trade with all nations. In this way much of the carrying trade of the world fell into her hands, bringing wealth to her citizens.

Great
Britain
and France.

Great Britain, in order to weaken the power of Napoleon, resolved to put a stop to neutral trade. In 1806, she issued a proclamation declaring that all the ports in Europe between Brest and the mouth of the river Elbe were closed, or blockaded, and warning all vessels not to attempt to enter them. Napoleon retaliated by his famous Berlin Decree, which declared the British Isles to be in a state of blockade, forbade France or any of her allies to trade with them, and ordered the confiscation of all British merchandise.

"Orders in
Council."

England, in 1807, met Napoleon's decree with her "Orders in Council," by which she declared all ports blockaded from which the British flag was shut out, and forbade all vessels to trade with France or any of her allies. This limited American commerce to England and Sweden. Napoleon again retaliated with his Milan Decree, in which he declared any vessel a lawful prize which obeyed the English "Orders in Council."

182. Injuries to American Commerce. (1807.)—Between France and England American commerce suffered greatly. If a vessel went to Europe without touching at an English

¹ Notwithstanding this law, it is estimated that about fifteen thousand negroes were secretly brought into the country every year.

port and paying dues or taxes on her cargo, she ran the risk of being taken by English men-of-war; while, if she followed this course, she might be seized by the French, should she attempt to enter any Continental port.

Injuries to
American
commerce.

England claimed the right to stop all vessels in order to find out if there were any British sailors on board; if any were found, they were seized, or impressed, as it was called — taken on board the war vessel, and made to serve in the British navy. England had long claimed this right, and Jay, in 1794, had vainly urged her to give it up.

Impress-
ment of
sailors.

English impressments became more frequent, and English officers more and more overbearing. At length (1807) the British frigate *Leopard* stopped the United States frigate *Chesapeake*, off Chesapeake Bay, and by force compelled her commander, who was in no condition to fight, to give up four of his men, declared by the British captain to be British citizens. This gross indignity was resented by all Americans, and almost brought on war. The act was disavowed by Great Britain, but it was not until 1811 that reparation was offered and accepted.

Chesapeake
outrage.

183. Embargo. (1807-1809). — Jefferson soon issued a proclamation warning British cruisers not to enter American ports; and called an extra session of Congress to decide what should be done. Greatly averse to war, for which he knew the country was not prepared, the President advised an embargo. Congress acted promptly on this suggestion, and passed the Embargo Act of 1807.

The Em-
bargo, 1807.

The act forbade the departure of any vessel for any foreign port; foreign vessels were forbidden to load in American ports; and vessels in the coasting trade were required to give bond that they would not trade outside the United States. This experiment was disastrous. "American shipping ceased to exist, American commerce was annihilated,

American seamen were forced to seek employment under the British flag, and British ships and British commerce alone occupied the ocean."

Opposition
in New
England.

The first opposition to this measure came from New England, whose citizens were largely interested in commerce. They saw their chief means of support destroyed at a blow; and, after vain attempts to get this act repealed, they gradually turned their attention to other pursuits. Manufacturing, in time, became their chief interest, making them to a large degree independent of the sea.

Non-inter-
course Act,
1800.

In the southern and agricultural states the effect of the embargo came more slowly, but was severely felt, for it was found that a foreign outlet for crops was essential to prosperity. In 1800 Congress was compelled to modify its former action by what is known as the Non-intercourse Act. This act removed all restrictions on trade except with England and France.

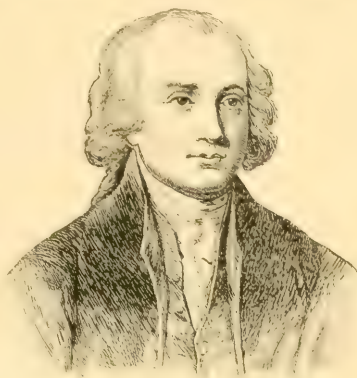
Robert
Fulton.

184. Robert Fulton (1807); Madison, President (1809); Tecumseh (1811). — During Jefferson's administration one of the greatest inventions of modern times was made. Robert Fulton, born in Pennsylvania, of Irish parentage, had been a portrait painter, a civil engineer, and an inventor. He now turned his attention toward the steam-engine, and devised a steamboat. With the pecuniary help of Robert R. Livingston of New York, he built a steamboat at Paris, France, which was apparently a failure.

Steamboat,
1807.

Fulton was not discouraged, but made another trial in 1807, this time at New York. The *Clermont*, as the vessel was called, started from New York for Albany amid the jeers of the lookers-on. The crowd soon applauded, however, for the experiment was a success, the *Clermont* keeping on at the rate of five miles an hour.

Though others, notably John Fitch in Pennsylvania in 1788, had been able to propel vessels by steam, to Fulton belongs the credit of inventing the first really practical steamboat. Had Fitch had the encouragement and the financial support which Fulton received, he might have anticipated the later invention.



JAMES MADISON.

JAMES MADISON was born in Virginia, March 16, 1751. He graduated at Princeton College, 1772. He was a member of the Continental Congress, 1780-1784. He was an active member of the Constitutional Convention, 1787, and it is to his notes that we are indebted for most of our knowledge of its proceedings. He was an active member of Congress, 1789-1797; was Secretary of State during the two terms of Jefferson; and President, 1809-1817. He died 1836.

James
Madison
elected
President,
1808.

In spite of the unpopularity of the Embargo Act, the Republicans in the Presidential election of 1808 elected their candidates, James Madison of Virginia and George Clinton of New York, by a large majority of electoral votes. Madison has been called the "Father of the Constitution," from the large share he took in bringing about the Constitutional Convention, the prominent position he held in that body, and his advocacy of the adoption of the document. He was a man of wide acquirements, particularly in legal and political science. He was, however, better fitted to plan than to carry out, and his lack of executive ability was made very evident during his first term as President.

In 1811 a war broke out between the Indians of Indiana Territory and the United States. It was believed that British agents had excited the redmen and had helped

Indian wars,
1811.

them. The Indians, in the absence of Tecumseh, their chief, were totally defeated by General William Henry Harrison at Tippecanoe, near the site of the present city of Lafayette, Indiana.

Tippecanoe.

Louisiana
admitted,
1812.

Louisiana was admitted as a state in 1812. Many opposed this action, partly on the ground that the country was "already too extensive for a republican form of government."

SUMMARY.

Jefferson was inaugurated 1801. His policy was to pay the debt as soon as practicable; keep out of foreign politics; and to introduce as much simplicity as possible into methods of government.

The great event of his administration was the Louisiana Purchase. Lewis and Clark were sent to explore the Louisiana territory and the Oregon country, and Pike the southern part of the purchase.

A naval war with the Barbary States put an end to tribute being paid them. Congress began to appropriate public money for internal improvements. Owing to wars in Europe, Jefferson induced Congress to lay the Embargo, which injured the American trade more than it hurt the foreign trade.

Fulton made a successful demonstration of the steamboat 1807. Madison was elected President 1808.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xli.

CHAPTER X.

WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN.

REFERENCES.

T. W. Higginson, *Larger History of the United States*, pp. 360 380 ;
A. B. Hart, *Source-Book*, Chap. xiii. ; C. C. Coffin, *Building of the Nation*.

185. Declaration of War. (1812.) — The majority of the people, except in New England, were eager for war with Great Britain. Madison, in his message to Congress of June 1, 1812, set forth the grievances of the United States. These were: the impressment of American seamen; violation of neutral rights on the American coast by the British cruisers; the British "Orders in Council"; and inciting the Indians against the United States.

On June 18, 1812, Congress passed an act declaring war against Great Britain. Only five days later England repealed the "Orders in Council," so hurtful to American commerce. It is unlikely that the declaration would have been withheld even if Congress had known of England's purpose, for the party in power was eager to fight; besides, there was no assurance that the impressment of seamen would be given up. So extensive was this impressment that at one time the names of six thousand men who had been thus seized were on file in the Department of State. The extent of the injury done to commerce is shown by the fact that between 1803 and 1812, on various pretexts, more than nine hundred vessels had been captured by British cruisers.

War with
Great
Britain,
1812.

United States ill-prepared for war.

186. The United States ill-prepared for War. (1812.) — The country was ill-prepared for war with any nation, especially with Great Britain, whose navy numbered about one thousand vessels. The United States navy consisted of twelve moderate-sized vessels and some almost useless gunboats. The land forces were ridiculously inadequate, undisciplined, miserably equipped, and officered by incompetent men.

The navy.

Though the navy was small, the vessels were the best of their class afloat, and were well armed, while the officers and men were skilful and well trained by experience in the Tripolitan War. These two facts are enough to explain the British successes on land and the American victories on the water. The country plunged rashly into a war which, like most wars, resulted in little that could not have been gained by patient negotiation.

Detroit surrendered.

187. American Failures; Perry's Victory. (1812-1813.) — Congress quickly authorized military preparations. The plan of operation was to attack Canada and defend the coast. Henry Dearborn, an officer of the Revolution and Secretary of War under Jefferson, was made senior major-general. To General William Hull, the governor of Michigan Territory, another veteran of the Revolution, was intrusted the conduct of the invasion of Canada on the west. He soon surrendered Detroit, the "key of the west," without a blow in its defence. With it the whole of Michigan Territory fell into the hands of the British.¹ (See map, p. 221.)

¹ Hull was tried by court-martial for this act, found guilty of cowardice, and was condemned to be shot. He was, however, pardoned by President Madison in consideration of his services during the Revolutionary War. Hull published a defence in 1824. Many believe that his sentence was too severe, and some think that it was altogether unjust, asserting that he was made to suffer for the shortcomings of others.

An attempt to invade Canada by crossing the Niagara River was a failure. Dearborn, early in 1813, personally led an expedition against York, now Toronto; but, after destroying some supplies and unwisely burning the government buildings, he retired from Canada, and soon after resigned his position. General William Henry Harrison, to whom had been given command of the army of the West, tried to recover Detroit, but was unsuccessful.

Canadian
campaign
indecisive.



DETROIT IN 1811.

From Robert E. Robert's "City of the Straits."

In the fall of 1813 Captain Oliver H. Perry, who had built a small navy on Lake Erie, completely defeated the British naval force near Sandusky, thus opening the way for Harrison's army to advance again upon Detroit, capture it, and pass into Canada. Soon after Harrison met the combined Indian and British forces near the river Thames, and routed them in battle. In this action Tecumseh, the great Indian chief, was killed. Harrison's victory restored Michigan and the Northwest to the United States, and put an end to the war in that part of the country. (See map, p. 221.)

Perry's vic-
tory, Lake
Erie, 1813.

The skill of the American naval officers and the excellence of the American seamen and vessels were as manifest on the ocean as on the Great Lakes. During 1812 and 1813 the British were greatly surprised at the number of American naval victories.

Naval
victories.

The success of the Americans at sea almost made up for the disastrous failures on land. While in some instances the advantage of size was in favor of the Americans, their success was mainly due to their superior seamanship and discipline. The people of the United States were greatly



"THE CONSTITUTION."

elated over these victories; several of the sayings of the naval captains, such as, "Don't give up the ship," and "We have met the enemy, and they are ours," became watchwords during the war. One of the most successful frigates was the *Constitution*, which received the name of "Old Ironsides."

Creek war,
1813.

LAUNCHED in 1797. In August, 1812, she captured the frigate *Guerrière* in the Gulf of St. Lawrence, in December the British frigate *Java* off the coast of Brazil, and in the following February, *The Hornet* and *The Peacock*, two other British vessels, had to yield to her. In 1833, it was decided to destroy her, as she was unseaworthy. Oliver Wendell Holmes' famous poem, "Old Ironsides," aroused such feeling that the old ship was saved. She was repaired and went to sea again in 1834. To-day she is in the Boston Navy Yard.

188. The Creek War; Jackson. (1813-1814.) — During the year 1813, incited by the influence of Tecumseh and British

and Spanish emissaries, the Creek Indians in southwestern Georgia and in Alabama rose against the United States. Led by a chief named Weathersford, a half-breed, they surprised and took Fort Mims, near the

Fort Mims.

junction of the Alabama and Tombigbee rivers. The garrison and most of those who had taken refuge in the fort, including many women and children, in all over four hundred, were cruelly put to death. (See map, p. 221.)

After two campaigns the Indians were conquered, the whites showing no quarter, and seemingly trying to surpass the redmen in cruelty. A great number of the Creek Indians were killed, and the survivors were forced to give up most of their lands and move farther west. Andrew Jackson was the chief commander in these campaigns, and his success in this Indian war gave him a high reputation for military skill.

189. American Successes; British Plans. (1814.)—Taught by their reverses, the Americans set about reorganizing their armies, and under the instructions of a young officer, Winfield Scott, and others, the troops greatly improved in discipline and confidence. Several victories over the British in Canada were the results of this training. Chipewawa, Lundy's Lane, and Fort Erie, all in the neighborhood of Niagara Falls were the chief successes; but as the United States troops had to retreat across the river Niagara, no real advantage was gained. Later the British invaded the United States by way of Lake Champlain, but were defeated at the naval battle of Plattsburg. (See map, p. 221.)

American
successes.

The success of the forces allied against Napoleon compelled him to abdicate; he was banished to Elba, and peace was declared in Europe. England was now able to send more men and more vessels to America. So many ships were sent that the whole coast from Maine to Florida was blockaded, and American vessels found it a hard matter to get in and out of ports.

United
States
coast
blockaded.

The United States had almost no vessels at sea, and

American
privateers.

most of the naval operations were carried on by privateers. These were very hurtful to English commerce. It is estimated that over twenty-five hundred English merchantmen in all were captured during the war by American privateers.

The plan of the English had been to invade the country from three points: on the north; on the Atlantic coast; and on the south. The attack from the north had been so far a failure. A part of the British plan was to make attacks at various places on the Atlantic seacoast in order to keep the Americans in a state of continual fear and uncertainty. In carrying out these schemes Stonington in Connecticut, Lewes in Delaware, Havre de Grace in Maryland, and other places were plundered. Maine, as far as the Penobscot River, was seized and held by the British until the end of the war.

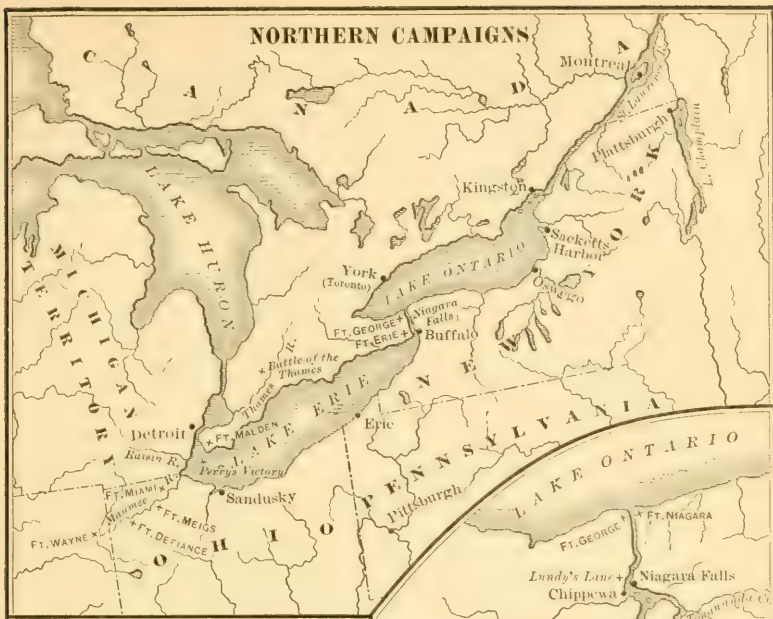
British
capture
Washington,
1814.

190. Capture of Washington. (1814.) — The chief attack was that made upon the city of Washington late in the summer of 1814. A strong fleet accompanied by an army of about four thousand five hundred men under General Ross, appeared in Chesapeake Bay in July.

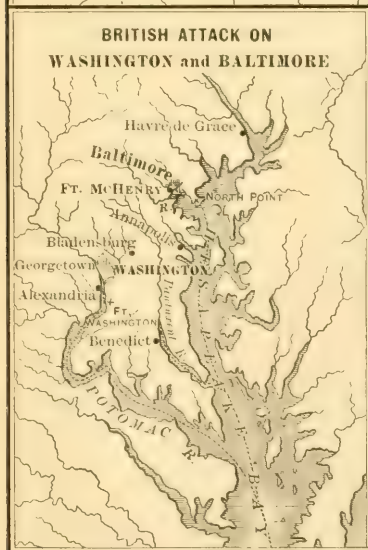
The forces were landed at Benedict, near the mouth of the Patuxent River and marched toward the capital. No resistance was made until Bladensburg, a short distance from Washington, was reached. Here a force of about six thousand men, consisting of a few regular troops and marines with the militia, was hastily drawn up to defend the capital. The militia were without training, the authority was divided, the officers were incompetent, and the battle speedily ended in a rout.

The British entered Washington and burned the Capitol and most of the government buildings. So hasty was the flight of the Americans, that Mrs. Madison, the wife of the

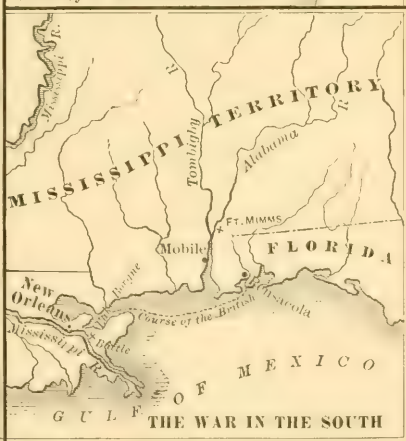
NORTHERN CAMPAIGNS



BRITISH ATTACK ON WASHINGTON and BALTIMORE



Vicinity of NIAGARA FALLS



REFERENCE MAPS FOR THE WAR OF 1812.

President, gathered up some of the silver in her reticule as she fled from the White House, and the British "ate up the very dinner, and drank the wine, etc., . . . prepared for the President's party."

191. British repulsed at Baltimore. (1814.)—The loss from a money point of view was large, but it was nothing in comparison with the loss of public records, which it was impossible to replace. The burning of the Parliament House in York (Toronto) by General Dearborn (sect. 187) offered the only justification for this act of the British. There was, however, this difference; the one was done on the responsibility of the general, the other was done under strict orders from the British government. After burning the city, the British forces retreated. (See map, p. 221.)

British
repulsed at
Baltimore.

An attack on Baltimore was successfully repelled at North Point, a few miles below the city, and a bombardment of Fort McHenry by the British fleet was a failure.¹

Southern
Campaign.

192. Southern Campaign; New Orleans; Repulse of the British. (1814-1815.)—The new attempt of the British was in the South. Spain, though nominally at peace with the United States, was friendly to England, and there had been in consequence more than one conflict between the Spaniards and the American forces. The British had occupied Pensacola, but Jackson had driven them from it and handed it over to the Spaniards. He hastened to the defence of New Orleans, which the British were sure to attack.

Andrew
Jackson.

Jackson's army was composed largely of frontiersmen, well trained in border conflicts, but knowing little of military tactics and discipline. The British were men who

¹ During this bombardment, Francis Scott Key, a Baltimorean, who had gone to the British fleet to negotiate for the release of prisoners and was detained by the British, wrote the song "The Star-Spangled Banner."

had been in Wellington's armies, and were under the command of skilful officers. Jackson showed the greatest energy and forethought in his preparation for defence; he built barricades of cotton bales, and earthworks, and called upon all citizens to aid him; among those who responded were many free negroes.

On the 8th of January, 1815, the British made their great attack. They were repulsed with heavy loss. The general in command was killed, and about twenty-five hundred men were reported as killed, wounded, or missing. On the American side eight were killed and thirteen wounded.¹ The British forces abandoned the expedition.

British
repulsed at
New
Orleans,
1815.

The battle of New Orleans did not in any way affect the treaty of peace, for that had been signed at Ghent on the day before Christmas, two weeks before. So slow was communication that the welcome tidings did not reach New York until February 11, and it was nearly four weeks before news of Jackson's success was received at Washington.

The victory at New Orleans restored confidence to the Americans, and had a marked effect in raising their military reputation in Europe.

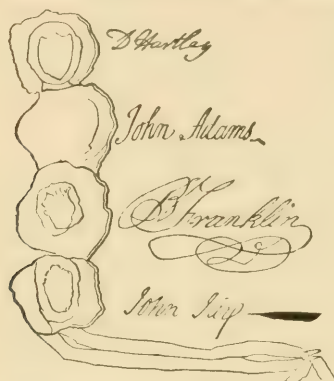
193. Peace of Ghent. (1814.)—As early as 1813 Russia had offered to act as mediator between the United States and Great Britain; the offer had been twice repeated without avail. Early in 1814 President Madison appointed five commissioners to go to Europe for the purpose of treating with England, but for some time after their arrival the prospects for peace were gloomy. The success of the allied armies against Napoleon, the capture of Paris, and the abdication of the French Emperor, while releasing

Peace of
Ghent, 1814.

¹ Jackson officially reported a loss, in these operations, of seventy-one killed, wounded, and missing.

many troops which could be sent to America, at the same time took away any pretext for the impressment of sailors and for the obnoxious "Orders in Council."

Peace
negotiations,
1814.



FACSIMILE OF THE SIGNATURES UPON
THE DEFINITIVE TREATY OF PEACE.

From the original in the State Department,
Washington.

long negotiations agreed upon a treaty of peace which was speedily approved by the British government and sent to America for ratification. In this treaty everything was restored as far as possible to the state which had existed before the war; not a word was said about the impressment of sailors or the "Orders in Council"; and the important questions relating to the navigation of the Mississippi and the New-

foundland fisheries were left to future negotiation. Both parties, however, agreed to do their best to put an end to the slave trade.

Treaty
ratified.

While the English were ready for peace, the Americans were eager for it. Congress quickly ratified the treaty, and the war came to an end. With the exception of the naval glory, the Americans had gained little or nothing; they had lost millions of dollars in military expenses and in the utter prostration of commerce, and many thousands of lives had been sacrificed. There is little doubt that a better treaty could have been made with England before the war than that which was made after it.

194. **The Hartford Convention.** (1814.)—In New Eng-

land, though she had borne more than her full share of the cost and had furnished more men than were called for, the war was, from the first, unpopular, especially among the Federalists. The many defeats, the destruction of trade, and the apparent hopelessness of the conflict made the opposition very strong.

Hartford
Convention,
1814.

At the instance of some Federalists a convention was called to discuss the condition of the country, particularly of the eastern states. Delegates from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island, and from parts of Vermont and New Hampshire, numbering in all twenty-six, met at Hartford, Connecticut. They held secret sessions for three weeks, and then, after preparing a paper for publication, adjourned, subject to call.

The members were all Federalists, and their opponents made the secrecy of the proceedings an occasion for spreading the belief that the convention had plotted secession. The real intentions of the leaders in the movement have never been fully explained and no complete report of its proceedings has been published. Seven amendments to the Constitution, resembling the Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions of 1798 and 1799, and the South Carolina Nullification Act of 1832, were recommended. Before the committee which had been appointed to confer with the government reached Washington, peace had been declared. The whole movement brought nothing but political ruin to all engaged in it, and was a final blow to the Federalist party.

195. War with Algiers. (1815.) — The United States had not quite done with fighting, however; for the Dey of Algiers had considered the war with England an opportunity to declare war on the United States; and he had seized several American vessels. In the summer of 1815

War with
Algiers,
1815.

The bank was to have branches in different parts of the country, and the public funds were to be deposited in it and its branches. These deposits, however, could be withdrawn when the Secretary of the Treasury thought best, but he was to give Congress his reasons for such action. The capital of the bank was fixed at \$35,000,000; the United States was a large contributor, and was represented in the board of directors.

Bank of the
United
States.

The first United States bank, suggested by Hamilton (sect. 158), had been closed on the expiration of its charter in 1811; Hamilton's political opponents felt themselves obliged in 1816 to follow his example when they found themselves in somewhat similar circumstances. Whatever may have been its later reputation, there seems to be no doubt that for some years the second Bank of the United States did good service.¹

197. Election of Monroe.
(1816.)—James Monroe was

nominated² as the successor of Madison, with Daniel D.



JAMES MONROE.

JAMES MONROE was born in Virginia, April 28, 1758. He entered William and Mary College, but left to join the Revolutionary army when he was eighteen, and served with credit. He was a member of the Virginia Legislature and opposed the adoption of the Constitution. He was United States Senator, Envoy to France, Governor of Virginia, Envoy to France again, where he took part in the Louisiana Purchase. He was Minister to Great Britain, Secretary of State for six years, and President 1817-1825. He died July 4, 1831.

James
Monroe.

¹ The bank was not at first well managed; but under new officers soon became a useful agency in the financial affairs of the country.

² At this time the candidates for President and Vice-President were nominated by a joint meeting of the United States Senators and members of the House of Representatives. This meeting was called a "caucus." The members of each party in Congress held their own caucus.

Election of
Monroe.

End of the
Federalists.

Tompkins, of New York, as Vice-President. Monroe was probably the best man that could have been selected. At the election he received an overwhelming majority of the electoral votes. The Federalists had nominated Rufus King of New York, but did not go to the trouble of putting any one forward as candidate for Vice-President. From this time the Federalist party ceased to exist under that name, though many of the Democratic-Republicans were really Federalists in their views, and were waiting a new issue to form a new party.

SUMMARY.

War was declared against Great Britain in 1812. The grievances of the United States were: impressment of American seamen; the British Orders in Council; and inciting Indians against the United States. The people of the United States were unprepared for war. The army was weak and ill-trained, and while the navy was good it was very small.

The Americans were often unsuccessful on land, but victorious on water. The British captured Washington and burned most of the public buildings. They were repulsed near Baltimore. Owing to the large navy of Great Britain the coast of the United States was closely blockaded.

The greatest success of the Americans was at New Orleans. The Treaty of Peace was signed at Ghent, 1814. Dislike of the war called forth the Hartford Convention of discontented Federalists.

The United States was successful in bringing Algiers to terms. Monroe was elected President 1816. The Federalist party ceased to exist.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xlii.

CHAPTER XI.

THE THIRTY YEARS' PEACE.

REFERENCES.

T. W. Higginson, *Larger History of the United States*, pp. 381-430 ;
A. B. Hart, *Source-Book*, Chap. xiv. ; C. C. Coffin, *Building the Nation* ;
H. C. Wright, *Stories of American Progress*.

198. Increase of National Feeling (1815) ; "Era of Good Feeling." — The War of 1812 had not been without good results. It had greatly increased the national feeling ; it had started the manufacture of many articles which had hitherto been imported ; and it had given the country a position among the great nations of the earth. Very few, either at home or abroad, looked any longer upon the Union as an experiment.

The beginning of Monroe's term of office, therefore, marks an epoch in the history of the United States. In the thirty years of peace following the War of 1812, the great subjects which claimed the attention of the people were those of internal policy, such as the tariff, internal improvements, — national roads, canals, railroads, — public lands, education, and slavery. Party lines for a time seemed to disappear, and Monroe's Presidency has therefore been called the "era of good feeling."

Monroe seems to have taken Washington as his model and to have followed his example whenever he could do so. Like him, early in his term of office he made an extended tour through the states. Nominally for the pur-

Monroe's
tours.

pose of inspecting the defences of the seaboard, the journey really was to heal, as far as practicable, party animosities.

Travelling was slow in those days; three months and a half were spent in visiting the eastern and middle states. Monroe was received everywhere with enthusiasm, the old Federalists for the moment being almost as full of zeal as the President's own party. Jefferson's words, "We are all Federalists, we are all Republicans," seemed for the time to be literally true. Monroe's second tour (1819) was made in the southern states. A Presidential tour now is no uncommon thing, but in Monroe's day it meant a great deal, and the effect upon the people was marked.

Florida
troubles.

199. Cession of Florida; General Jackson. (1819.)—Spain owned Florida, but it could hardly be said that she governed it. There were but few settlements or forts; the country was really held by several tribes of Indians, the chief of whom were the Seminoles. Runaway slaves from Georgia and Alabama found it a safe place of refuge, and adventurers saw in it an attractive field for their lawless operations. During the War of 1812 there was continual trouble, which lasted after peace had been made. Spain was either indifferent to complaints or helpless to keep order, and there was almost incessant border warfare.

Andrew
Jackson in
Florida.

In 1817 General Andrew Jackson was sent to take command of the United States forces in the South. In his instructions he was allowed to pursue a flying enemy across the boundary, but he was not to attempt to take any Spanish post without direct orders from Washington. In the conduct of the campaign, however, he acted without regard to orders. He accused the Spanish commanders of aiding the Indians, — probably a charge true in some

instances,—and seized several of the towns and forts, among them Pensacola.

Two British subjects were seized, tried by court martial, and promptly hanged, though the evidence against them was of a doubtful character. Thus in a very short time Jackson had defied the rules of international law, and brought the country to the verge of war with Spain and England.

Pensacola was soon restored to Spain; but as it was evident that the Floridas would continue to be a troublesome possession, Spain became willing to enter into negotiations for their cession to the United States, and in 1819 a treaty for the cession was signed at Washington. Spain ceded all the Floridas to the United States.¹ In return, the United States gave up all claims against Spain, and agreed to pay the claims of American citizens against Spain to the amount of five million dollars. This treaty was not ratified by both countries until 1821.

Spain cedes
Florida,
1819.

200. Protection to Home Industries. (1816–1817.)—One effect of the War of 1812 had been to shut out English manufactures, and in consequence to stimulate the manufacture of cotton and woollen goods in the United States. Now that peace was made, the English merchants poured

Manufac-
tures.

¹ The United States in 1810 had taken possession of part of West Florida, claiming that it belonged to the Louisiana Purchase; in 1812 the rest was seized. Spain in the treaty ceded the whole of Florida and gave up all claims to territory north of the forty-second parallel of latitude as far as the Pacific Ocean. This made the claim of the United States to Oregon much stronger. The western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase was also fixed by this treaty. Omitting particulars, the boundary may be described as following the Sabine, Red, and Arkansas rivers, to the forty-second parallel of latitude, and thence to the Pacific Ocean. In agreeing to these boundaries the United States lost Texas, a part of which she had previously claimed under the Louisiana treaty, but whose growth was not realized in 1819. (See map, Territorial Growth, between pp. 396–397.)

English
competition.

their goods into the United States, underselling American manufacturers, who were unable to compete in prices. Indeed, it was alleged that the English merchants sent their goods over with the avowed purpose of breaking down any competition in America, and in order to do this were willing for a time to sell below cost.

Protection.

Petitions for an increase of duties were made to Congress, and in 1816 a new tariff act was passed raising the rates of duty. In 1817 the "American Society for the Encouragement of American Manufactures" was formed. Now more than ever protection was made a definite policy. Before this time revenue had been the object of every financial measure; since this time protection has often been made the first object in tariff legislation, and revenue the second¹ (sect. 156).

In 1816 a number of southern men, among them Calhoun, supported a moderate protective policy; but before long they were led to believe that such a policy was against the interests of the South, particularly of the cotton-producing states, and in a few years most southern men became strong opponents of protection (sect. 218).

201. Agreement relative to the Great Lakes. (1817.)—In 1817 Great Britain and the United States agreed that

¹ Protection, or a protective tariff, is a tax laid upon imported goods at such a rate that it will prevent their sale, and so encourage the manufacture of similar goods at home. The advocates of protection claim that those engaged in manufacturing will buy of the farmers, thus giving them a home market for their products; and that there will be a greater diversity of interests in the country, making it to a great extent independent of foreign nations. The advocates of free trade claim that it is best for each country to produce that for which it is best fitted by nature; that manufactures will spring up as soon as the country is ready for them; that protection benefits a few at the expense of the many: and that a policy of free trade will tend to peace between nations.

the naval force of either power on the Great Lakes should be limited to two vessels on the upper lakes, to one vessel on Lake Ontario, and one on Lake Champlain; each vessel not to exceed one hundred tons' burden, and to be armed with but a single small cannon. This was but a police force to keep order and insure the collection of revenue. It was also agreed that no vessel should be built or armed on the Great Lakes for war purposes.

Agreement
regarding
the Great
Lakes.

202. Internal Improvements. (1806-1819.) — In 1806 Congress had granted an appropriation for laying out a national road from Maryland to Ohio, the first instance of the kind (sect. 180). Madison and Monroe both vetoed bills making appropriations for the construction of roads at the national expense, on the ground of unconstitutionality. They thought that such works should be undertaken by the government under proper restrictions, and they had suggested amendments to the Constitution to give Congress the power. Many believed that the power to make internal improvements was implied in the Constitution; others, that the whole matter rested with the states, and that the national government had nothing to do with it; many also disapproved on principle giving Congress such power. The need of better means of communication between different parts of the country was so great that the matter was kept before the people.

Internal im-
provements.

203. Erie Canal. (1817-1825.) — The roads were so bad at the time of the War of 1812 that supplies for the army in the Northwest were carried at a heavy cost. It was clear that some less costly method of transportation must be found between the East and West. To meet this necessity, De Witt Clinton of New York proposed that a canal should be made from Lake Erie to the Hudson River near Albany.

DeWitt
Clinton.

Erie Canal.

Such a canal would have to pass through forests, over rivers and valleys, and cross hills by means of numerous locks. No wonder that it seemed a foolish enterprise, and that it was called in derision "Clinton's Ditch."

Clinton, with confidence and indomitable perseverance, carried the work to its completion. Begun on the 4th of July, 1817, it was finished in the fall of 1825. In October of that year, a fleet of canal boats left Buffalo for



MAP OF THE ERIE CANAL.

New York. Their progress through the canal was a triumphal procession; shouts of welcome, ringing of bells and booming of cannon greeted them on the way. The little fleet of boats was towed from Albany to New York, and thence to Sandy Hook, where Clinton emptied into the sea the water which had been brought in a gayly decorated barrel from Lake Erie. This was to show that the waters of "our Mediterranean seas" are joined with the Atlantic by means of the Erie Canal. The arrival of the boats in New York was the beginning

of a great celebration which lasted for several days. New York City Hall was illuminated with over two thousand lamps and wax candles, and a grand display of fireworks was made. Erie Canal.

Extending over three hundred and sixty miles through the very heart of the state, the Erie Canal became the means of carrying a vast amount of merchandise¹ to and from the sea. Towns and villages grew up along its course. It stimulated in a wonderful manner the growth of the whole state through which it passed; and this explains in great measure the fact that the city of New York soon surpassed Philadelphia, previously the largest city in the Union, in commercial prosperity and in population.

The canal gave the farmers in the West the opportunity to send their crops to a good market, and to get their supplies at a reasonable cost. It furnished the people of the seaboard flour and country produce at a much lower price than formerly, and gave the New York merchants and manufacturers a larger market for their wares.

204. Missouri, Slave or Free? (1818-1820.)—In 1819 the number of states in the Union was twenty-two. With the exception of Louisiana, admitted in 1812, all the states added to the original thirteen had been formed out of territory within the limits as fixed by the treaty with Great Britain at the close of the Revolution. Of the thirteen, seven were free and six were slave states; by the admission of the nine new states the number of slave and free states had become equal, and were therefore equally rep- New States
and the
Slavery
Question.

¹ Before the opening of the canal, it cost over one hundred dollars to send a ton of goods from Albany to Buffalo; after the canal was opened, the cost was less than fifteen dollars per ton. Until the introduction of railroads, the Erie Canal carried a large number of passengers.

resented in the United States Senate. In the House of Representatives, on the other hand, the representation from the free states was larger, owing to the much more rapid growth in population.¹

Ohio River
the
boundary
between
free and
slave states.

Heretofore the Ohio River had been the dividing line between freedom and slavery; all new states admitted north of it were free, and all south of it were slave states. Late in 1818 the territory of Missouri applied to Congress to be admitted into the Union. At once the question was forced upon the country: Should the vast domain lying west of the Mississippi be slave territory or free? If it should be free, the overthrow of southern influence in Congress would result.

Louisiana had been admitted as a slave state; it was south of the Ohio, and slavery was an established institution when the Louisiana Purchase was made. But the northern part of the proposed state was on a line with Indiana and Ohio, while the southern boundary, 36° 30', was almost exactly that of Kentucky and Virginia. Geographically, therefore, the territory was debatable ground. Jefferson, now in private life, wrote, "From the battle of Bunker Hill to the treaty of Paris, we never had so ominous a question." (See map.)

North and
South at
variance.

205. Missouri Compromise. (1818-1820.)—The South held that Congress had no right to interfere with slavery, that it was a question which the individual states should settle for themselves. The North held that Congress had full power over the territories, and could make conditions which a territory must observe in order to become a state.

Loss of equality of representation in the Senate meant a probable loss of political supremacy; possibly an end to the

¹ See tables, Appendices IV.-VII.

extension, if not to the existence of slavery, an institution which the South believed was essential to its prosperity. The South, therefore, stubbornly resisted the admission of Missouri as a free state.

The anti-slavery feeling had greatly increased in the North, and to many the question was no longer a political one; it was a matter of right and wrong. There seemed no way to put an end to slavery in the South; but it might be kept out of new states.

Missouri
Compro-
mise, 1820.

The struggle continued until 1820, when, largely through the efforts of Henry Clay of Kentucky, Speaker of the House of Representatives, an act was passed under which Missouri was to be admitted to the Union. This was the famous Missouri Compromise Bill. Its main provision, suggested by Jesse B. Thomas of Illinois, was, that Missouri was to be a slave state, but that in future slavery should be forever prohibited in all other territory of the United States lying north of the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ north latitude. (See map, p. 237.)

This act for the first time fixed by law the division of the country into a free North and a slaveholding South. Almost at the same time the South permitted Maine to enter the Union as a free state, having refused to allow its admission until the Missouri question was settled.

Monroe
reëlected,
1820.

206. Monroe reëlected. (1820.)—There was no serious opposition to the reëlection of Monroe and Tompkins. Monroe received the vote of all the Presidential electors except that of one in New Hampshire, who gave his vote for John Quincy Adams, on the ground, it is said, that no one but Washington should receive a unanimous vote. Daniel D. Tompkins was reëlected Vice-President.

207. Spanish-American Republics. (1810-1822.)—The

wonderful growth of the United States had not been unobserved by the European colonies in America. From 1810 the Spanish colonies one after another began to rebel, and then to throw off the yoke of the mother country. As early as 1816 Henry Clay had "put the question whether the United States would not have openly to take part with the patriots of South America"; in 1818 he had urged the recognition of the Spanish-American republics; in 1822 arrangements were made for opening diplomatic relations with "independent nations on the American continent." Spain was unable to put down the rebellions in her colonies, but there were signs that some of the European powers were inclined to give her aid. After Napoleon's final overthrow, Russia, Austria, and Prussia, joined later by France and Spain, had formed themselves into what they called the "Holy Alliance." Nominally for the purpose of "preserving peace, justice, and religion in the name of the gospel," its real aim was to prevent revolutions, and to put down anything like a rebellion. Thus a rising in Naples was put down by Austrian forces, and an attempt at a liberal government in Spain was crushed by France in 1823. England, for reasons of her own, opposed the plans of the "Holy Alliance," although not acting in concert with the United States.

Spanish-American republics.

The "Holy Alliance."

208. Monroe Doctrine. (1823.)—It was now feared that the Holy Alliance would aid Spain to recover her colonies, and also that France would try to set up a kingdom in the new world.

In a message to Congress in 1823 the President announced, (1) that the United States would remain neutral in the political affairs of Europe, but that any attempt by European governments to extend their system to any part of North or South America, or to oppress or control

Monroe Doctrine, 1823.

Monroe
Doctrine.

independent American states, would be regarded as "the manifestation of an unfriendly disposition toward the United States," and (2) "that the American continents, by the free and independent condition which they have assumed and maintain, are henceforth not to be considered as subjects for future colonization by any European powers." These statements are known as the "Monroe Doctrine." Little of this "Doctrine" was new; for Washington, Jefferson, and others had already stated the principles laid down in the first part. The authorship of the second part is attributed to John Quincy Adams,¹ the Secretary of State.

These statements had a marked effect in Europe; plans of European interference in American affairs were laid aside, and England soon followed the example of the United States and recognized the Spanish-American republics as independent states.

209. New National Issues. (1824.)—Monroe was the last of the Revolutionary statesmen. Before the close of his second term there had come to the front a new generation of men, who were to decide new questions, and to avert new dangers.

Internal im-
provements.

In the Congress to which was addressed the message containing the "Monroe Doctrine," two subjects, already referred to, began to be national issues: (1) Internal Improvements at the national expense; and (2) a Tariff for Protection. A bill creating a protective tariff was passed by a small majority. This is known as the "Tariff of 1824." A bill providing for surveys for a national system of canals was also passed.

Protective
tariff.

¹ Monroe consulted Jefferson, who replied: "Our first and fundamental maxim should be: never to entangle ourselves in the broils of Europe; our second, never to suffer Europe to intermeddle with cis-Atlantic affairs."

210. John Quincy Adams chosen President by the House. (1825.)—The time now drew near for choosing a successor to Monroe, but the issues of the "tariff and internal improvements" had not been long enough before the country to be distinctly party issues, and the choice turned upon men rather than measures. The contest became so personal that this election was called "the scrub race for the Presidency."

Presidential
nominations.

From 1804 to 1820 candidates for the office of President had been nominated by a caucus of the members of Congress; in the latter year, as there was no opposition to Monroe and Tompkins, no caucus had been held. Early in 1824 an attempt was made to return to the old but unpopular plan; and a few members of Congress met and nominated William H. Crawford of Georgia, for President. Crawford was a man of much experience in political affairs, had held various offices, and was now Secretary of the Treasury; but his nomination was not looked upon with great favor.

The legislature of Tennessee presented Andrew Jackson as its candidate; Kentucky followed with Henry Clay; Massachusetts, with John Quincy Adams. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina was supported for Vice-President by the majority of advocates of the several candidates for the Presidency.

It was not surprising that no candidate received a majority of the electoral votes; the choice for President, therefore, in accordance with the Constitution, fell to the House of Representatives. Clay, standing fourth on the list in respect to the number of votes received, was ineligible (Constitution, Amend. Art. XII.). As was natural, the friends of Clay joined with those of the other "loose constructionists" and chose Adams, though Jackson had re-

John Quincy
Adams
chosen by
the House
of Represen-
tatives, 1825.

ceived a larger electoral vote.¹ Calhoun, having received a majority of the electoral votes, was declared Vice-President.



National
Republicans.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS.

JOHN QUINCY ADAMS was born in Massachusetts, July 11, 1767. He studied at the University of Leyden, in Holland, and when only fourteen was private secretary to the United States Minister to Russia. He graduated at Harvard College, 1788, and studied law. He was Minister to Holland when twenty-seven; afterward Minister to Prussia. He was United States Senator, one of the commissioners who negotiated the Treaty of Ghent, 1814; then Minister to Great Britain. He was Secretary of State for eight years: President, 1825-1829. From 1831 to 1848 he was a member of House of Representatives, and was known as the "old man eloquent." He was active in support of the right of petition and of anti-slavery. He died in the Capitol, February 23, 1848.

John Quincy
Adams.

At once there was a cry of "corrupt bargain," which was not lessened when Adams announced that he would appoint Clay Secretary of State. The Jackson and Crawford factions joined in opposition to Adams and Clay, whose followers united, soon calling themselves National Republicans, and afterward Whigs. In many particulars this new party differed little from the old Federalists. Their opponents, first called Jackson men, or Jacksonians, before long took the name of Democrats.

211. John Quincy Adams; his Character. (1825.)—No man ever came to the office of President better prepared by education for its duties than John Quincy Adams. His father, John Adams, one

¹ Jackson and Crawford were both strict constructionists of the Constitution, while Clay and Adams believed in a liberal or loose construction of that instrument. A "strict constructionist" holds that all powers must be expressly granted in the Constitution in order to be legal; a "loose constructionist" holds that in the Constitution there are many powers implied but not expressed, and that the document must be understood liberally.

of the most prominent men of the country, had given his son every advantage of social and political position. Somewhat haughty in his manner, impatient of other men's views, taking little pleasure in society, he was not popular; he had few personal political friends. He was an "accidental President," and not the choice of the people. He shone most when in the opposition in the House of Representatives, and his fame rests chiefly on his work after he ceased to be President.

212. Lafayette's Visit to America. (1824-1825.) During the last year of Monroe's administration Lafayette visited the United States, which he had not seen for forty years. Modestly declining the use of a public vessel offered by the United States, he sailed in a private ship, and landed at New York late in the summer of 1824.

Lafayette
visits
America,
1824-1825.

Lafayette was treated as the guest of the nation; during his stay every expense was provided for, and every wish, so far as practicable, was anticipated. The people looked upon him as a representative of the Revolution, and so, in rendering honor to the man, there was a gratification of national pride. Everywhere that Lafayette went his course was a triumphal progress, and arches and banners with "Welcome Lafayette" greeted him throughout the land.¹

The newspapers of the day are full of the accounts of the receptions and dinner-parties given to him. A banquet at the White House was given by the President, John Quincy Adams. There were present ex-Presidents Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe, all of them old friends of the chief guest.

¹ Josiah Quincy, in his "Figures of the Past," tells of an enthusiastic lady, who may be taken as fairly representing the popular feeling, who said, "If Lafayette had kissed me, depend upon it, I would never have washed my face again as long as I lived."

Lafayette left the country after a visit of a year. Besides the good wishes of the American people, he had received from Congress, in recognition of his services to the country as an officer of the Revolutionary army, the gift of \$200,000 and a township of land in Florida. More might have been his, had not his modesty made him decline other gifts offered him by states and by individuals. He sailed for France in a new ship of the navy, named in his honor *Brandywine*, from the battle in which he had so greatly distinguished himself (sect. 119).

Signs of
progress in
the United
States.

213. Changes in the United States. (1825.)— Nearly fifty years had passed since Lafayette had first come to America: great were the changes which met his eye as he revisited the scenes of his early manhood. The population in 1777 was three millions: it was now (1825) about eleven millions: then there were thirteen small colonies; now there were twenty-four states: then the settlements occupied only the country lying along the coast; now there were states a thousand miles inland, and the country extended from the Atlantic Ocean to Texas and the Rocky Mountains, and from Canada to the Gulf of Mexico: then he was aiding a few rebel colonies to resist a strong mother country; now he was the guest of the United States, one of the great powers of the earth.

The progress in agriculture, commerce, and manufactures had fully kept pace with the political and territorial growth. The United States was the great producer of cotton and grain for Europe; her flag was seen in every port; and her citizens were celebrated for their inventive skill. Steamboats plied regularly where only the canoe of the Indian or of the hunter had been seen. To one coming from discontented Europe the land seemed indeed a land of peace, prosperity, and freedom.





214. Adams Unpopular ; Internal Improvements. (1825.)Adams
unpopular.

— John Quincy Adams, though one of the best Presidents the country has ever seen, was not a popular one. Many persons thought that the place rightly belonged to Jackson, who had the largest popular and electoral vote, and that Congress should have followed “the will of the people” and chosen him. Indeed, Adams was hardly in his seat before Jackson's supporters began to get ready for the next campaign. Not a few of these were office-holders under Adams ; but he refused to remove them, for he would not in any way make use of the public service for his personal advantage.

Adams, in his inaugural address, boldly recommended the appropriation of money for “internal improvements.” In his first message to Congress he went still further, recommending appropriations for national observatories, a university, and scientific enterprises of various kinds, as well as for public roads, canals, and defences.

Internal im-
provements.

The country was not ready for such liberal views. The North was divided upon the question, while the South believed in the narrow or strict view of the Constitution. A number of bills, however, were passed by Congress in aid of internal improvements, but they fell far short of the President's recommendations, and it was many years before his views were adopted to any great extent.

215. Pan-American Congress proposed. (1825–1826.) —Pan-
American
congress.

The South American republics, encouraged by Monroe's declaration, invited the United States to send delegates to a congress of American states to be held at Panama for the purpose of forming an alliance for self-defence, and deliberating on matters of common interest. After much opposition, two delegates, nominated by the President, were confirmed by the Senate ; but owing to the death of

one of them and the delay of the other, the congress was held without the presence of a representative from the United States. The attendance at Panama was small; the congress, without accomplishing anything, adjourned to meet in Mexico in 1827; but this meeting never took place.

Difficulties
with the
Indians.

216. Difficulties with the Creeks. (1802-1825.) — About this time treaties were made with various Indian tribes. Jefferson had proposed that all the tribes east of the Mississippi should be gradually removed to lands within the Louisiana Purchase, but until Monroe's term very little had been done toward bringing it about. Several treaties had been made on this basis.

Much difficulty had arisen in regard to the Creeks and Cherokees in the state of Georgia. When Georgia ceded to the United States her claim on western territory, the United States agreed to pay the Indians for their lands within the state. Though the agreement was made in 1802, it had not been carried out, and Georgia in 1819 demanded its fulfilment. However, but little was done.

In 1825, some of the Creek chiefs, on their own authority, ceded the lands of their tribe to the United States, and agreed to move beyond the Mississippi. The Creeks refused to abide by this treaty, and put to death the chiefs who had made the agreement. The state of Georgia attempted to take possession of the lands; President Adams interfered, and for a time it seemed as if there would be a petty war. Finally a new treaty was negotiated with the Creeks, who gave up almost all their land and agreed to move beyond the Mississippi. The Cherokee question, however, was still unsettled and came up later (sect. 228).

217. Anti-Masonic Party; Death of Adams and Jefferson. (1826.) — In 1826 William Morgan, a Freemason, under-

took to publish a book revealing the Masonic secrets. After various adventures he suddenly disappeared, and no certain trace of him was ever discovered. This mysterious disappearance gave rise to the belief that he had been murdered by the Masons. The excitement against them was great, and led to the formation of an anti-Masonic party, which for a long time had considerable power, especially in the states of New York, Pennsylvania, Vermont, Ohio, and Massachusetts. In 1832 the party was strong enough to nominate a Presidential candidate, but soon after disappeared from the field of politics.

Disappearance of William Morgan.

Anti-Masonic party.

Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, though they had quarrelled when the former became President, had long since made up their differences and become warm friends, often writing to each other and discussing in an amicable way events of the early years of the republic. On the 4th of July, 1826, they died, almost at the same hour, each thinking that the other was still alive. So remarkable a coincidence made a great impression upon the public, and gave occasion for the delivery of Daniel Webster's well-known oration.

Death of Adams and Jefferson, July 4, 1826.

218. Era of Ill-feeling; Protective Tariff of 1828. (1824-1829.) — If Monroe's administration had been the "era of good feeling," that of Adams was quite the reverse. At no time in the history of the country had political feeling run higher or abuse been more violent. The questions of the tariff and internal improvements were fairly before the country as party issues; but to these was added a personal element which intensified discussions to an extraordinary degree. It seemed as if nothing was too bad to be believed of an opponent, and stories were repeated over and over again, and believed in spite of repeated denial and proof of their falsity.

Party politics.

The Tariff.

The tariff of 1824 (sect. 209) had been passed by a very small majority. Meanwhile public opinion in the middle states north of the Potomac River had been steadily growing in favor of a protective tariff; this is true not only of the manufacturers, but of the farmers also. The eastern states, however, were divided in sentiment from the fear that the shipping interests might be injuriously affected by a protective tariff.

Protective
tariff act,
1828.

South of the Potomac, particularly in the cotton-growing states, public opinion was strongly opposed to protection. After much discussion a protective tariff act passed both houses of Congress by small majorities in 1828, and became a law. This act greatly offended¹ the people of South Carolina and Georgia, and in those states many public meetings were held in which it was denounced in strong language as "a gross and palpable violation of the Constitution"; some speakers even threatened a dissolution of the Union unless there should be "an unconditional repeal of the protecting laws."

The
"American
System."

On the issues of a protective tariff and internal improvements at the national expense, called by Henry Clay the "American System," the old Democratic-Republican party divided; those supporting Clay and the "American System" took the name of National Republicans, while their opponents were known as Democrats.

219. Election of Jackson. (1828.)—The candidates for President in the election of 1828 were Adams and Richard Rush, nominated by the National Republicans; and Jackson and Calhoun nominated by the Democrats. Adams and Rush were overwhelmingly defeated. The cause of Adams's defeat was not wholly the tariff or the question of internal improvements.

¹ This was known as the "Tariff of Abominations."

A change had come over the country. Up to this time men with training in affairs had been candidates for the office of President; now a widespread notion prevailed that there was danger of an aristocracy, and it was believed that Jackson represented the cause of the people. Jackson was a great military hero, and there was a very general feeling that he had been unjustly set aside when Adams was chosen (sect. 210) by the House of Representatives in 1825. Jackson was carried into office on a wave of popular enthusiasm.

Jackson
elected,
1828.

SUMMARY.

The two terms of Monroe are known as the "Era of Good Feeling." Monroe was elected the second time with scarcely any opposition, only one electoral vote being cast against him.

There was great increase of national feeling. Florida was bought from Spain, 1819. Protection to home industries first became a distinct issue during Monroe's administration.

Internal improvements at the national expense also became an important issue. The Erie Canal was opened, 1825. The Missouri Compromise regarding slave and free territory was adopted 1821. The Monroe Doctrine was proclaimed.

In the Presidential election of 1824 there was no choice and the election was thrown into the House of Representatives, which chose John Quincy Adams.

Lafayette visited America, 1824-1825, and was received with enthusiasm. Adams upheld appropriations for internal improvements. Difficulties with the Indians in Georgia led to their removal to the Indian Territory.

Jackson was elected President in 1828 by a large majority.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xlii.

CHAPTER XII.

THE THIRTY YEARS' PEACE (*continued*).

Andrew
Jackson.



ANDREW JACKSON.

In 1830. Age 63. After the portrait by R. W. Earl in the U. S. National Museum.

ANDREW JACKSON was born on the borders of North and South Carolina, March 15, 1767. He was of Irish parentage. His military career began as a boy in the Revolutionary War. He was taken prisoner by the British, and harshly treated. He tried his hand at several trades, and then studied law. He went to Tennessee, and before long was made a judge. He was elected to the House of Representatives and then to the Senate. He was a general of the militia, and in a campaign against the Creek Indians was very successful. He was appointed to a generalship in the regular army, and sent into the field. At the battle of New Orleans he repelled the British attack, and won great renown. He was sent against the Seminoles in Florida, and carried on the campaign with great vigor and in his own way. He was governor of Florida in 1821. He was President for two terms, 1829-1837. His political career is elsewhere described. He died June 8, 1845.

REFERENCES.

T. W. Higginson, *Larger History of the United States*, pp. 431-455; A. B. Hart, *Source-Book*, Chap. xv.; H. C. Wright, *Stories of American Progress*; E. E. Hale, *Stories of Inventions*.

220. **Andrew Jackson.** (1829). — With the inauguration of Andrew Jackson a new era begins in the history of the country.

Born in 1767, Jackson was now sixty-two years old; ill health and exposure caused him to look much older. He was a man of strong convictions; always sure he was right, and rarely to be moved by argument. He never forgot a friend or forgave an enemy, and he regarded every one who differed from him not only as his personal enemy, but also as

the enemy of his country. He was a thoroughly honest man, and undoubtedly believed that he was going to put an end to a vast amount of corruption when he took charge of the executive office.

221. Removals from Office. (1829.) — In his inaugural address Jackson said, "The recent demonstration of public sentiment inscribes on the list of executive duties, in characters too legible to be overlooked, the task of reform." He renewed the charges made against the late administration, though Adams had been unusually successful in his appointments, and had not allowed any one to suffer on account of his political opinions.

Removals
from office.

It is now possible calmly to review the history of those times of excitement, and it is generally acknowledged that, in economy and purity, the administration of John Quincy Adams has not been surpassed. Jackson, however, believed not only that there was corruption among the office-holders, but also that it was his duty to reward with offices those who had been active for the cause he represented. This system was comparatively new in national politics, but was well known in some of the states, notably in New York.

222. "The Spoils System." (1829-1831.) — Previous to Jackson, with the exception of Jefferson,¹ the Presidents had removed only a few from office, and those for good reasons. Jackson made a clean sweep of all the offices of value. It is estimated that during his first year of office his appointments, including the changes made by his subordinates, were about two thousand. For a period of about fifty years the rule was, to use the phrase of Marcy, senator from New York, "to the victors belong the spoils" ² (sect. 395).

"The Spoils
System."

¹ Jefferson removed more than all the others put together. See sect. 178.

² William L. Marcy was senator from New York, 1831-1833. In a speech

Rotation in
office.

A bill was passed in 1820 limiting to four years the terms for which many office-holders were appointed. This measure, designed to correct abuses which had crept into the service, brought about the far greater evil of rotation in office. Before 1820, with a few proper exceptions, offices had been held during good behavior.

Daniel Webster clearly pointed out at the time the evils likely to follow such a method as that adopted in 1820. It is not just to lay all the responsibility of the "spoils system" upon Jackson, but he was the first President who distinctly made public office a reward for party services.

Jackson a
self-made
man.

223. Jackson a Self-made Man; the "Kitchen Cabinet."
(1829.) — Jackson was the first President who was, in the



FIRST HOME OF ANDREW JACKSON.
From "Historic Towns of the Southern States."

fullest sense of the term, a self-made man. He possessed great courage, indomitable will, and wonderful perseverance. He had perfect confidence in himself and was regard-

less of consequences. His abilities were of no low order; had he enjoyed opportunities for education and cultivation in his youth, his career would have been marked with fewer errors.

As it is, no figure in American history, with the possible exception of Abraham Lincoln, stands out with more marks

in the U. S. Senate, 1832, he said: "They see nothing wrong in the rule that to the victors belong the spoils of the enemy."

of originality than that of Andrew Jackson. His personal manners, particularly toward women, were courteous and dignified, though his previous life had been spent mostly on the frontier, and he had been accustomed to a rough-and-ready way of deciding matters.

Character of Jackson.

Before he was thirty-two he had been country store-keeper, lawyer, district attorney, judge, congressman, and senator. Jefferson, who as Vice-President presided over the Senate, relates that in that body Jackson "could never speak on account of the rashness of his feelings. I have seen him attempt it repeatedly, and as often choke with rage."

Jackson's first Cabinet was a weak one, Van Buren, Secretary of State, being the one able man in it. Jackson did not, however, rely upon his Cabinet for advice, but rather on a few of his special favorites, some of whom held positions in the departments. It was not long before it was found that the way to the President's good will lay through these men, who, in consequence of their subordinate positions and their influence, became known as the "Kitchen Cabinet."

"Kitchen Cabinet."

224. The United States Bank. (1816-1832.)—The Bank of the United States had been up to 1829 a non-political institution, its directors giving their attention strictly to the legitimate business of such a corporation. The new order of things brought a conflict with the President over an appointment in one of the branches of the Bank.

Jackson, though at first he does not seem to have had any special feeling against the Bank, became its most determined enemy. In 1832 the directors resolved to ask Congress for a renewal of the charter (sect. 196), though it was four years before the old one expired. Congress

Jackson and the Bank.

after a long discussion granted the request, but Jackson vetoed the bill, and it was not passed over his veto.

Presidential
campaign.

225. Jackson reelected; "Removal of Deposits." (1833.) — The Presidential election was to be held soon after Jackson's veto of the bill for the renewal of the charter of the Bank, and he and his opponents were willing to make that question the issue of the campaign.

The National Republicans, under the leadership of Clay and Webster, supported the Bank as an institution necessary for successfully carrying on the financial work of the government, and valuable as furnishing a uniform and safe paper currency. They also upheld the "American System" (sect. 218) as beneficial to the country at large.

Jackson attacked the Bank as a monopoly using its influence in a way hurtful to the country; as failing to do what was expected of it, and as being unconstitutional. Notwithstanding the popularity of Clay, and the strength of the position of the National Republicans on many points, the cry of "monied monopoly," and the confidence of the people in Jackson carried the day, and he was reelected by a very large majority of the electoral vote. He naturally took this as an approval of his policy.

Jackson re-
elected,
1832.

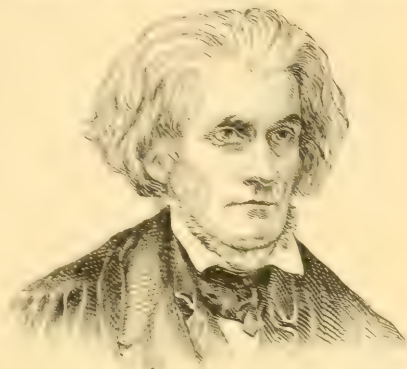
Jackson now directed that government money should no longer be deposited in the Bank or its branches. This action is generally spoken of as "the removal of deposits." The Secretary of the Treasury did not, however, agree with Jackson, and refused to obey the order; he was accordingly removed, as well as his successor, who also declined to obey his chief. On the removal of this second man, the Attorney-General, Roger B. Taney, was appointed to the vacant post, and immediately carried out Jackson's wishes.

"Removal
of deposits."

226. Calhoun proposes Nullification. (1831-1832.) — A tariff for protection had become year by year more and

more objectionable to the people of the southern states, particularly to those of South Carolina. Jackson did not like the tariff, but it was a law of the country and he intended to enforce it.

A large number of persons believed that the national government rested upon the consent of the individual states; in other words, that the Union was a confederacy of states, rather than a union of the people. Calhoun, the great leader of the southern party, apparently did not wish the states to secede except as a last resort; he supported



JOHN C. CALHOUN.

JOHN C. CALHOUN was born in South Carolina, March 18, 1782. He graduated at Yale College and studied law. He was a member of the House of Representatives, 1811, where he actively supported the war with Great Britain. He was Secretary of War, 1817-1819; Vice President of the United States, 1825-1832, and again, 1832-1844, when he resigned to become Senator from South Carolina. He was Secretary of State, 1844-1845. He is known as the great upholder of the doctrines of Nullification and State Sovereignty. He died March 31, 1850.

what is called "Nullification," which is very nearly what had been laid down in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions of 1798-1799. He claimed that as the states had never given Congress the power to pass a law creating a protective tariff, they had a right to pronounce such a law null and void. In 1832 a new protective tariff was adopted.

"Nullification."

227. Nullification (1832); Compromise Tariff (1833). — Meanwhile a convention was held in South Carolina which declared that the tariff law was null and void, and that should the national government attempt to collect the

Nullification
in South
Carolina.

duties by force, it ought to be resisted. The Legislature of the state confirmed the action of the convention; claimed the right to secede from the Union, and prepared to resist by arms any attempt to enforce the law.

Jackson's
proclama-
tion.

On the receipt of this news Jackson issued his Nullification Proclamation, approved by almost every one at the North, and sent a naval force to assist, if necessary, in collecting duties at Charleston. Jackson, in his proclamation, said to the people of South Carolina: "The laws of the United States must be executed . . . my duty is emphatically pronounced in the Constitution. Those who told you that you might peaceably prevent this execution deceived you; they could not have been deceived themselves. . . . Their object is disunion. But be not deceived by names. Disunion by armed force is treason." Every one knew that Jackson meant what he said; South Carolina delayed action.

Compromise
tariff bill.

The matter soon came up on the floor of Congress. The President was authorized to use force if necessary, but through the influence of Henry Clay, a compromise tariff bill was passed under which duties were to be reduced gradually until 1842, when a uniform rate would be reached which would practically amount to a tariff for revenue only. Both sides claimed a victory—the North, because the President had been authorized to use force, and complete free trade had not been secured; South Carolina, because she had not given up the principle of state rights, or state sovereignty, as it is correctly termed.

Cherokees
in Georgia.

228. Cherokees in Georgia. (1830-1838.)—The difficulties with the southern Indians had been partly settled by the removal of the Creeks beyond the Mississippi (sect. 216). The Cherokees, however, still remained in Georgia, and the Seminoles in Florida. Both were unwilling to change their abodes.

Jackson was an old Indian fighter, with no sympathy for the Indians, and when the state of Georgia tried to get possession of the lands of the Cherokees in Georgia. Cherokees, he made no objection, neither attempting to carry out the treaties of the United States with the tribe, nor enforcing a decision of the Supreme Court in favor of the Cherokees. On this occasion he is reported to have said, "John Marshall [the Chief Justice] has made his decision; now let him enforce it."

The discovery of gold within the Indian reservation hastened the action of the state authorities, who proceeded to divide the land of the Indians and dispose of it by lottery. Finally the United States commissioners forced a treaty from the Indians, in accordance with which the tribes received a large sum of money for their lands; in 1838 they were driven from their homes at the point of the bayonet, and were moved under the supervision of military forces to the place they now occupy in the Indian Territory. Indians removed to Indian Territory, 1838.

On the journey, which took about five months, nearly four thousand, about one-fourth of the whole number, perished. The Cherokees were civilized, many somewhat educated, and by their treaty with the government they had the right to rule themselves. On the other hand, as Jackson pointed out, an independent government could not be permitted to exist within a state. The fault seems originally to have been on the part of the United States in making such a treaty, but the Indians were the sufferers.

229. **"Black Hawk War"; the Seminoles; Osceola.** (1832-1842.)—In developing the lead mines of Illinois and Wisconsin, the lands of the Indian tribes of the Winnebagoes and of the Sacs and Foxes were overrun. This led to what is known as the Black Hawk War (1832), "Black Hawk War," 1832.

from the name of the noted Indian chief who was a leader in it. At the close of the war, in which the young Abraham Lincoln took part, the Indians agreed to a treaty by which they gave up about ten million acres of land in return for regular supplies and a yearly payment of money.

“Black
Hawk War.”

Seminoles.

The Seminoles, who lived in Georgia and in Florida, had refused to be removed west in accordance with the arrangements made by the United States. Florida was a great refuge for runaway slaves whose capture there became almost impossible. The Seminoles refused to give up these refugees and frequently intermarried with them.

Osceola.

The principal Seminole chief, Osceola, a half-breed, had married a woman who also was a half-breed; she, although born in Florida, was claimed as a slave by a Georgian, who had owned her mother, and was seized and carried away into slavery. Osceola vowed revenge. An Indian war was the result. Osceola, captured by treachery, was placed in confinement, first at St. Augustine, Florida, and then at Charleston, South Carolina, where he died.

The war dragged on for seven years (1835-1842), with great loss of life on both sides; it was marked with many incidents of greater cruelty and horror than is usual even in Indian warfare. After costing the United States about thirty millions of dollars, the Seminoles were subdued by General Zachary Taylor. Later, most of the surviving Seminoles were removed to the Indian Territory.

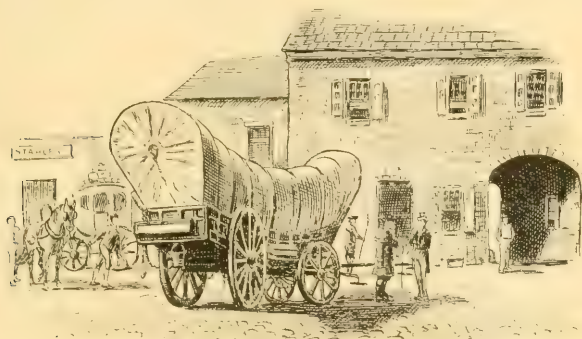
Material de-
velopment
of the
United
States.

230. Material Development. (1837.) — “The reign of Andrew Jackson,” as it has been sometimes called, marks an epoch not only in the political history of the country, but also in material, intellectual, and social matters. From this time may be dated the practical employment of many things which have had a vital influence upon the development of the country.

The successful application of steam to the loom had greatly stimulated manufactures; the invention of Fulton had been greatly improved, until now the rivers were crowded with steamboats laden with grain, cotton, and other products; and the *Savannah*, crossing the ocean in 1819, had shown that steam could be used in ocean navigation.

The means of land transportation, however, had been changed but little since colonial days. In Pennsylvania

Land trans-
portation.



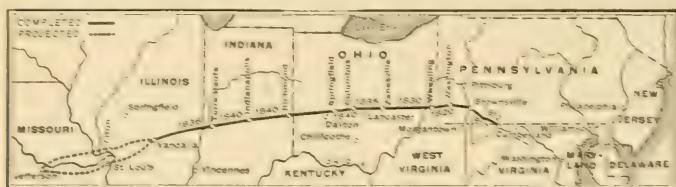
"CONESTOGA" WAGON AND STAGE COACH.

and western Maryland, where the roads were comparatively good, there was an extensive wagon trade carried on with the interior by means of "Conestoga" wagons, as they were called — large vehicles, with covers of canvas, or of strong white cotton cloth, drawn by four, six, or even eight horses. Farm products of all kinds were brought in these wagons to Philadelphia and Baltimore, and goods needed by the country people were carried back. This wagon trade was one of the great sources of the wealth of Philadelphia, and helped to make Baltimore one of the great flour markets of the world. A few inns with their

"Conestoga"
"ga" wagons.

long stable yards, where the wagoners used to "put up," are yet to be seen in Philadelphia and Baltimore.

In general, however, except where there was river or canal communication, or where the "National Road"



ROUTE OF THE NATIONAL ROAD.

offered its smooth surface, there was comparatively little intercourse between different parts of the country. This was particularly true of the East and the West. There was small inducement to seek new homes in the West, in spite of the great fertility of the land; for not only was it difficult to reach that country, but once there, the products of the farm could not be sent to a market in the East, or even elsewhere, unless the farm was near a canal or a navigable stream.

231. Effect of Steam and Electricity. (1837.) — To this difficulty of intercourse was due the great ignorance which was common in the eastern states in regard to the western country. The vastness of the territory of the United States was believed by many sober-minded men to be a great evil; these thought it was a question worthy of consideration where a dividing line between the United States and a new western nation should be placed. A republican form of government was thought by these persons to be impracticable for a large country.

Their fears were not groundless. The ability of the Anglo-Saxon race is great, and its genius for self-govern-

Railroads.

ment; this was in 1826. In 1827 a railway was built at Mauch Chunk, Pennsylvania; on this the cars were drawn up by horses, and descended by gravity on their return.

The first passenger railway was the Baltimore and Ohio. This road was begun July 4, 1828. Charles Carroll of Carrollton, then ninety-one years old, and the last survivor of the signers of the Declaration of Independence, threw out the first spadeful of earth, saying, as it is reported, "I consider this among the most important acts of my life, second only to that of signing the Declaration of Independence, if second to that." In the same year a locomotive built by George Stephenson, the great English engineer, was imported from England and used by the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, on a road in connection with their mines.

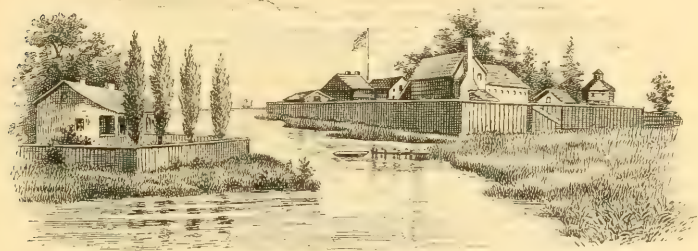
Growth of
railroads.

A few years later successful locomotives were constructed in the United States, and the American machinists very soon adapted them to the existing conditions of country and roadbeds. The American people were not slow to see the possibilities of railways, and built them rapidly. There were two or three miles of track in 1826; in 1837 there were fifteen hundred miles in actual working operation, and many more miles were under construction. From that time to the present there has been no cessation of building, until many parts of the country are covered with a network of roads, and long lines stretch over the land in all directions, joining the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans, the Great Lakes and the Gulf of Mexico.

By means of the railroad the East and West have been united politically as well as socially; it has made government by the people possible over a wide expanse of country; without it the United States could not have become the great nation which it is. The railroad not only made

communication easy in the old states, but it also made possible the rapid and profitable settlement of the great West. By it the country was opened to the settler; it carried him to the edge of civilization, and then took back his crops cheaply, securely, and rapidly to a good market. Wherever the railroad went, there villages and towns and cities sprung up, and where water communication has been

Effect of
the railroad.



FORT DEARBORN AND KINSIE MANSION, CHICAGO, 1832.

present in addition to other natural advantages of position, as is the case with Chicago, the growth has been unparalleled.¹

233. Reapers; Coal. (1833-1837.)— But it was not only railroads and steamboats that aided in developing the country. The broad fields of the western farmer suggested the need of better means for cultivating and gathering in the crops. In 1833 Obed Hussey of Cincinnati patented a reaping-machine, which did fairly good work, and in 1834 Cyrus McCormick of Chicago patented another reaper, which closely resembled those now in use. Improved ploughs, harrows, drills, and other implements soon followed.

Reapers.

¹ Chicago in 1830 consisted of a single fort; in 1900 it had more than a million and a half inhabitants.

Coal and
iron.

. Anthracite or hard coal had been known since 1768, but it was little used until 1820, when a satisfactory method of burning it became generally known. An abundance of cheap fuel in close proximity to the iron mines, vastly increased the production of iron; the coal and iron of Pennsylvania have made her one of the wealthiest states of the Union. It was discovered that coal could be used on the locomotives and steamboats, and after 1837, it almost entirely took the place of wood; its great steam-producing power, as well as its economy of space, bringing it into general use.

Inventions.

234. Matches; Gas; Water; Propellers. (1820-1838.)— In 1838 friction matches began to be used¹— a small matter apparently, but one which has added greatly to the comfort of the household. Gas, as a means of lighting dwelling-houses and streets, had been introduced into most of the large cities and towns, and waterworks were taking the place of wells, not only to furnish purer water for drinking, but also to supply a means of extinguishing fires.²

Screw propeller.

In 1836 the screw propeller, instead of side-wheels, as a means for propelling a vessel, was successfully introduced by John Ericsson, a Swedish engineer who had emigrated to this country. Economy in fuel and in space, and also in power from the fact that the propeller under ordinary conditions is always under water, gradually brought this invention into use; it has displaced side-wheels in ocean navigation, and has revolutionized the navies of the world.

¹ Friction matches were invented in England about 1832.

² Schuylkill water was brought into Philadelphia in 1812, Croton water into New York in 1842, Cochituate water into Boston in 1845. The first city in the United States to be lighted by gas was Baltimore, in 1816.

235. Asylums for the Blind, Insane, and Deaf-Mutes. Asylums. (1837.) — But it was not in material matters alone that the country was advancing. In 1832 the first asylum for the blind in America was opened, and their education was begun in earnest. They were soon taught to read books with raised letters, printed especially for them, and to do many other things of which they had hitherto been thought incapable. Asylums for deaf-mutes had already been established, while great improvements had been made in care and treatment of the insane. Prison reforms were studied and various methods for bettering the condition of the prisoners were discussed and adopted.

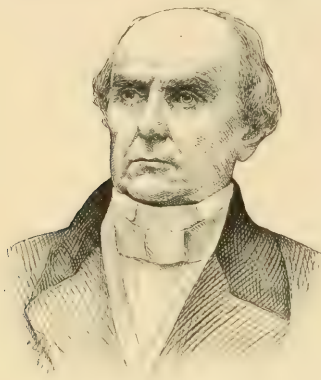
236. Education ; Newspapers. (1833-1841.) — Marked Education. improvements were made in the common school system. This was particularly the case in the newer states, where every effort was made to secure the best methods and the best instruction possible. In Massachusetts two normal schools for the training of teachers were founded in 1839, the first of a long series of similar institutions. In the South, though the University of Virginia, with one or two other colleges, had a good reputation among institutions of higher education, the elementary schools were few and seldom good.

Newspapers were established, lower in price and more convenient in form. Their character was changed also ; more energy was displayed in conducting them, and the discussions of topics were more independent. Of the New York daily papers the *Sun*, founded in 1833, the *Herald*, in 1835, and the *Tribune*, in 1841, were examples of the new style.

237. Literature ; Oratory. (1837.) — Up to about 1830 the native literature of America had been largely political

Literature.

or theological; most books on other subjects were either reprints of English works or importations. The *North American Review* was established in 1815; and the works



DANIEL WEBSTER.

Daniel Webster.

DANIEL WEBSTER was born in New Hampshire, June 18, 1782. He was educated at Phillips Exeter Academy and at Dartmouth College, where he graduated 1801. He taught school and studied law. He soon acquired a high reputation. He was a member of Congress 1813-1817. In 1818 he removed to Massachusetts, and became the leader of the bar. He was Congressman 1823-1827, and had gained great fame as an orator from his speeches at Plymouth and Bunker Hill, and on Adams and Jefferson. He was chosen Senator 1827, and was continuously in the Senate until 1841, when he accepted the office of Secretary of State. He was Senator again in 1845-1850, and Secretary of State 1850-1852. He was known as the "Great Expounder of the Constitution." He is universally regarded as one of the greatest orators of America. He died October 24, 1852.

John C. Calhoun.

of a few native writers, as William Cullen Bryant, Charles Brockden Brown, Washington Irving, James Fenimore Cooper, and Fitz-Greene Halleck, gave a promise for the future. Before the end of Jackson's second term Whittier, Longfellow, Holmes, Poe, Hawthorne, Emerson, Prescott, and George Bancroft began their career as authors.

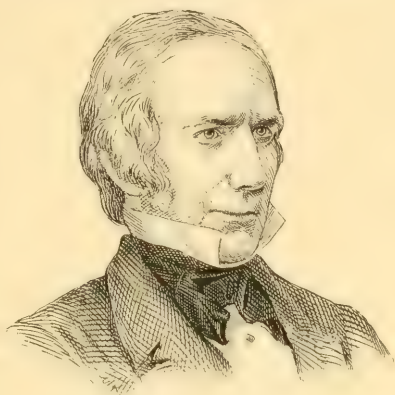
In oratory Daniel Webster has never been surpassed in this country; his speech in the United States Senate in 1830, in answer to Robert Y. Hayne of South Carolina, is a masterpiece of oratory. John C. Calhoun of South Carolina was another great orator; his power lay chiefly in the skill with which he could arrange his arguments; and as an opponent

Henry Clay.

he was greatly dreaded. Henry Clay, the third great orator of those days, had a wonderful personal influence and a persuasive voice, which seemed to carry all before him.

238. Temperance Reform. (1826-1837.) — Among other reforms that were taken up earnestly was that of temperance. In 1826 the American Temperance Society was organized at Boston. This society was the first to proclaim the doctrine of total abstinence, for hitherto moderation in drinking had been the point urged by speakers on temperance. The new society was active in spreading its doctrines by means of public lectures and in other ways, so that numerous similar organizations were soon formed. The Washingtonian movement was started at Baltimore in 1840; it was primarily an effort to aid in the reformation of drunkards, and from the members of the society a pledge of total abstinence was required.

Temperance Reform.



HENRY CLAY.

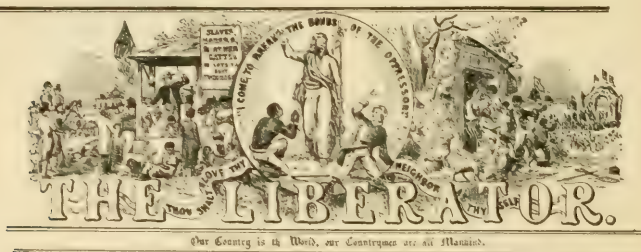
239. Rise of the Abolitionists. — The antislavery movement, which might perhaps be more properly called the rise of the Abolitionists, began about this time. It has been seen already that the early statesmen of America, almost

HENRY CLAY was born in Virginia, April 12, 1777. He had only a limited school education. He studied law, and when about twenty removed to Kentucky, where he rose rapidly in his profession. He was member of the State Legislature; twice sent to the United States Senate to fill vacancies, and in 1811 entered the House of Representatives, of which he was immediately chosen Speaker, an honor which has never been bestowed on a new member since. He was an active supporter of the war with Great Britain, and it was largely due to his influence that Congress passed the declaration of war. He was one of the Peace Commissioners in 1814. He was Secretary of State under John Quincy Adams, and again Senator. He was thrice an unsuccessful candidate for the Presidency. He is known as the "Great Pacificator," and the "Great Compromiser" from his skill in arranging compromise measures. He was one of the most popular political leaders that the country has known. He died June 29, 1852.

Abolitionists.

Early views
regarding
slavery.

without exception, disapproved of slavery and looked forward to its abolition in the not far-distant future. It has also been seen (sect. 159) that the invention and employment of Eli Whitney's cotton-gin had changed the feeling toward slavery in the southern states. The purpose of those persons in the free states who had taken any interest in the matter had been to confine slavery within the limits it already occupied, and to prevent its extension; even the antislavery men had done little more than support a scheme of gradual emancipation, or of colonization in Africa.



HEADING OF GARRISON'S "THE LIBERATOR."

William
Lloyd
Garrison.

In 1831 William Lloyd Garrison began in Boston the publication of a paper called *The Liberator*, in which he advocated immediate and unconditional emancipation. Garrison was an agitator rather than a reformer, as is shown by his denunciation of the Constitution, calling it a "covenant with death and an agreement with hell." He was soon joined by others, who formed with him the New England, and still later, the American Antislavery Society. Other societies followed rapidly. The work of spreading their opinions by means of lectures and speeches, and by the circulation of a mass of literature through the mails was vigorously carried on. The Abolitionists in-

sisted upon being heard, and the effect produced was altogether out of proportion to their numbers.

240. Nat Turner Insurrection; "Incendiary Publications." (1831-1836.) — It was a time of unrest, and many things were taking place which caused much misgiving. In 1831 an insurrection of the slaves in Virginia, led by a negro called Nat Turner, though it was soon put down, alarmed the South greatly, and called the attention of the whole country to the slavery question.

Nat Turner
Insurrection,
1831.

The South insisted that abolition documents should be kept out of the mails, and Jackson himself, in 1835, recommended in his message to Congress that the circulation through the mails of "incendiary publications intended to instigate the slaves to insurrection" should be prohibited under severe penalties. Many postmasters, on their own responsibility, threw out such matter as they deemed incendiary, and their action was unrebuked by the Post-office Department.

Abolition
documents
and the
mails.

The Abolitionists soon began to petition Congress on the subject of abolishing slavery in the District of Columbia. After a heated discussion, the House of Representatives resolved to receive no communication whatsoever in respect to slavery, regardless of the fact that such action attacked the right of petition. For the support of this constitutional right, an able champion in the House of Representatives was found in John Quincy Adams, who, in spite of ridicule, scorn, and vituperation, insisted on presenting petitions until in 1844 the "gag resolutions," as they were called, were repealed.

Abolitionists
petition
Congress.

It is now clear that the Abolitionists, despite much that was objectionable, were right on the main question, though for the moment they probably injured rather than benefited the slaves.

John Quincy
Adams.

Effects of
the abolition
movement.

They succeeded in bringing the subject before the free states, and the Northern people began to realize, as they never had done before, the inconsistency of slavery with the principles of the American system of government, and with the economic conditions which prevailed in the country. On the other hand, the agitation naturally tended to unite the South more strongly than ever. Few, however, saw the inevitable outcome as clearly as did John Quincy Adams, who wrote at this time, "Slavery is in all probability the wedge which will ultimately split up this Union."

Foreign
affairs.

241. Foreign Affairs; Appointment of Chief Justice; Surplus Revenue. (1829-1837.)—Jackson's administration of the foreign affairs of the United States was very successful. France was forced by his firm attitude to settle spoliation claims of long standing, and other nations followed her example.¹

Death of
Chief Justice
Marshall.

John Marshall, who had been Chief Justice of the United States since 1801 (sect. 168), died in 1835,² and Jackson nominated as Marshall's successor Roger B. Taney of Maryland. Taney had been in Jackson's cabinet first as Attorney-General and then as Secretary of the Treasury (sect. 226). The Supreme Court about this time became Democratic in its political views, and remained so for nearly thirty years.

Debt of
United
States paid,
1835.

In 1835 not only had all the debts of the United States been paid, but owing to the tariff and to the large receipts from the sale of public lands, there was on hand a great and growing surplus. The United States presented the almost unique spectacle of a country out of

¹ It is an interesting circumstance that Great Britain played the part of mediator in the troubles with France.

² The Liberty Bell (sect. 111) is said to have been cracked July 8, 1835, while it was being tolled for Marshall's death.

debt, and having so much money as not to know what to do with it. A bill was passed in 1836 for distributing the surplus revenue among the states, according to population, and under this law the sum of \$28,000,000 was divided. Distribution of surplus.

242. Van Buren elected; his Policy. (1837.)—In accordance with Jackson's wish, Van Buren was nominated in 1836 to succeed him as President, and Richard M. Johnson as Vice-President. The Whigs, as the Anti-Jackson men now called themselves, made no regular nominations, but divided their vote among William Henry Harrison, Daniel Webster, Hugh L. White of Tennessee, and others. Van Buren elected President, 1836.



MARTIN VAN BUREN.

Van Buren was easily elected; no one candidate receiving a majority for Vice-President. Johnson was chosen by the Senate in accordance with the constitutional provision.

Thus "having beaten all his enemies, and rewarded all his friends, Jackson retired from public life to his home in Tennessee." Jackson retires to private life.

Martin Van Buren, was a descendant of one of the old Dutch families. His experience in political matters was wide. He announced his policy to be the same as that of Jackson, saying his aim would be "to tread in the footsteps of his illustrious predecessor." Van Buren's policy.

MARTIN VAN BUREN was born in New York, December 5, 1782. He studied law and rose to eminence in his profession. He was State Senator, United States Senator, governor of New York, Secretary of State under Jackson, 1829-1831; Vice-President, 1833-1837; President, 1837-1841. He was twice candidate for reelection, but was defeated. He was a shrewd political leader rather than a statesman. He died July 24, 1862.

“Pet Banks.” 243. “**Pet Banks**”; **Panic of 1837**.—When Jackson had ordered the cessation of the deposits in the United States Bank, certain banks in the different states were chosen as places of deposit, good care being taken to choose those banks whose directors were in harmony with the President. Hence they were called “pet banks.”

“Wildcat banks.” As a result of this system of deposit, a large amount of money was thrown upon the open market, and as has always been the case under such circumstances, speculation began, first in land, then in almost everything. Soon there was not money enough to meet the demand, and the banks began to issue bills, with but little gold or silver to redeem them. New banks were formed on little or no capital, paper money was issued with little or no specie back of it. Persons took the bills of these “wildcat banks” as long as they could get others to take them. All this had happened late in Jackson’s second term.

Specie Circular. When it appeared that the government was losing money by accepting, in payment for public lands, bank-bills which often turned out to be worthless, Jackson issued through the Secretary of the Treasury the “Specie Circular,” which directed the government agents to receive nothing but gold in payment for lands sold. As a large part of speculation was in public land, the effect of this order was quickly felt. Purchase of land was greatly curtailed, and there being no use for the “wildcat” bank-bills, they came back to the banks for redemption; and the banks failed. Owners of land hastened to offer it for sale but nobody wished to buy; prices went down rapidly, and soon a panic existed in all branches of trade.

Panic of 1837. The panic of 1837 was one of the worst commercial crises the country has ever known; it lasted for more than a year, and bore upon all classes of the community. Even the

national finances were affected. So greatly did the receipts fall off that not only did the Secretary of the Treasury have to suspend the payment of the surplus ordered to be divided among the states, but the fourth instalment was never paid. Van Buren had to call a special session of Congress to devise means for raising funds to carry on the government. This was done by authorizing the Treasury Department to issue notes to the extent of \$10,000,000.

244. State Enterprises; Repudiation. (1837.) — The spirit of expansion was not confined to individuals; states had undertaken the construction of canals, railroads, and other public works. To pay for these they issued bonds, but in consequence of the panic they could not raise money to pay their obligations. In some instances the money had been squandered, in some the agents of the states had proved unfaithful, in others the works had been projected upon a scale that was unprofitable.

Taking advantage of the eleventh amendment to the Constitution, which forbids a state to be sued by individuals, some of the states refused to pay their debts. Such action is called "repudiation." When better times came, some of the states, among them Pennsylvania, which had failed to pay the interest on the debts, paid up their old indebtedness. Others have never done so.

Many of these state obligations were held in Europe, and American credit suffered severely; for some time it was almost impossible to place any loans whatever abroad; in 1842 even the United States government found itself unable to place a loan in Europe, so low had American credit fallen.

245. Sub-Treasury established. (1840.) — To remedy the difficulties that had occurred through Jackson's system of "pet" banks, Van Buren proposed the Sub-Treasury

Sub-Treas-
ury system
established,
1840.

system,¹ which would allow the government to manage its own finances and sever all "connection between the government and the banks of issue." In accordance with this plan all money received by the government agents was to be paid over to officers called Sub-Treasurers, who were to be required to give heavy bonds for their honesty and good behavior. These officers were to pay out the money on requisition from the Treasury Department.

The Whigs, one of whose cardinal doctrines was the reestablishment of a United States Bank, opposed the Sub-Treasury plan, and ably led by Clay and Webster, succeeded in postponing its adoption until 1840. Repealed in 1841, it was again adopted in 1846, and is still in force.

Uprising in
Canada.

246. Canadian Uprising. (1837-1838.) — In 1837-1838 there was an uprising in Canada against the British government. Many persons in the United States, particularly along the border, sympathized with the Canadians, and meetings were held, and money and arms contributed in aid of the cause. The President issued a proclamation warning American citizens not to interfere in Canadian affairs, and sent General Scott to the border to watch the course of events. This action prevented what had threatened to prove serious trouble with Great Britain.

Abolition
riots.

247. Riots; Abolition Movement. (1834-1840.) — Meanwhile the Abolition movement had grown. But on various grounds there was much opposition to it in the North, manifested as early as 1834 by a riot in New York, and in the same year by one in Philadelphia. In 1835 a meeting of the Women's Antislavery Society at Boston was broken up by a mob, and Garrison, who was present, was dragged through the streets with a rope around his body, but was rescued and put in jail for protection.

¹ Also called the Independent Treasury System.

In 1837 Elijah P. Lovejoy, the publisher of an antislavery paper, was shot and fatally injured in front of his office in Alton, Illinois, after the roof of the building had been set on fire by a mob. In Philadelphia, in 1838, the office of the *Pennsylvania Freeman* was destroyed by a mob, and Pennsylvania Hall, in which the office was situated, was burnt. The poet Whittier, who was editor of the paper, lost all his books and papers, and narrowly escaped being mobbed.

Lovejoy
shot.

In the South the action of the Abolitionists naturally created much excitement; Georgia in 1831 offered a reward of \$5000 for the apprehension of Garrison; in Louisiana a vigilance committee offered \$50,000 for the delivery of Arthur Tappan, a prominent member of the party; while Mississippi offered \$5000 for the arrest of any one circulating the *Liberator* or like papers. In 1839 the Abolitionists divided, many of them being unwilling to follow Garrison in his extreme views. In 1840 the "Liberty Party" was formed.

Rewards
offered for
abolitionists.

248. "Tippecanoe and Tyler too." (1840.)—As is not unusual, the national administration had to suffer for events for which it was not responsible. The panic of 1837 was a severe blow to Van Buren and his party. Another threatened panic in 1839 completed the work; though his party stood manfully by him and renominated him for the Presidency, he was defeated by the Whigs, whose candidates were William Henry Harrison, the hero of Tippecanoe (sect. 182), and John Tyler of Virginia.

William
Henry
Harrison.

This political campaign was the first of the style, since so familiar, having processions, songs, torchlights, mass meetings, etc. In ridicule of Harrison some one said, "Give him a log cabin and a barrel of hard cider, and he will be satisfied." This was in allusion to Harrison's fron-

Harrison
elected,
1840.

tier life. So far from accomplishing its purpose, the cry was immediately taken up as a watchword, and miniature log cabins and barrels of hard cider were seen everywhere. So, like Jackson, on a wave of enthusiasm, "Tippecanoe and Tyler too" were triumphantly elected. The

Liberty Party had nominated candidates, but they received an insignificant vote.

Death of
Harrison.



WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON.

WILLIAM HENRY HARRISON was born in Virginia, February 9, 1773. He was the son of Benjamin Harrison, governor of Virginia, and a signer of the Declaration of Independence. He was educated at Hampden-Sidney College, and entered the army when he was eighteen. He was governor of Indiana Territory, 1805-1813. On November 7, 1811, he defeated the Indians at Tippecanoe. He was appointed brigadier-general in the regular army, 1812. He was member of Congress, 1817, and Senator, 1824. He was elected President, 1840, and died April 4, 1841, exactly one month after his inauguration.

seekers, he sank under an attack of illness and died exactly one month after his inauguration. In accordance with the Constitution the Vice-President assumed the duties of President.

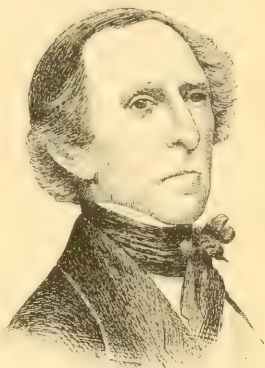
John Tyler of Virginia, the first Vice-President who had succeeded to the Presidency, had been nominated in

249. Harrison dies; Tyler's Course. (1841.) — Harrison, born in 1773, was already an old man; much of his life had been passed on the frontier, where he had seen hard service, though he was not unfamiliar with political life, having been a member of the House of Representatives, governor of Indiana Territory, etc. How he would have filled the office of President cannot be known; for worn out by the many demands upon his strength, chiefly the result of the throng of office-

order to gain Southern votes. He was Democratic in his opinions, though opposing Jackson's views on nullification. The Whigs bitterly repented the policy which gave them their "accidental President." Harrison had called an extra session of Congress to consider what should be done to improve the financial state of of the country. At this session, the Whigs soon passed a bill for the establishment of a new Bank of the United States; to their dismay Tyler vetoed it, and their majority was not large enough to override the veto. After consultation with the President, they passed another bill framed to meet his objections, but he vetoed that also. Upon this, all the Cabinet resigned, except Webster, who doubtless would have also resigned had he not been carrying on negotiations with Great Britain. There was now open war between Tyler and the party which had elected him.

250. Treaty with Great Britain; Extradition. (1842.)—Daniel Webster, whom Harrison had appointed Secretary of State, immediately after his entrance upon office turned his attention to certain difficulties with the British government. These had long been unsettled. They were the northwest boundary between the United States and the British possessions, which had never been clearly defined; the right which England still claimed to

John Tyler
President,
1841.



Bank act
vetoed.

JOHN TYLER.

JOHN TYLER was born in Virginia, March 29, 1790. He was son of John Tyler, governor of Virginia. He studied law. He was a member of Congress, 1816-1821; governor of Virginia, 1825-1827; and United States Senator, 1827-1836. Elected Vice-President in 1840, he became President in 1841, on the death of Harrison. He returned to private life in 1845. He was President of the Peace Conference in 1861, and the same year was elected a member of the Confederate Congress. He died January 18, 1862.

Treaty with
Great
Britain,
1842.

Ashburton
Treaty.

search vessels in order to impress sailors; and the right of search for the suppression of the slave trade. Added to these old questions were new ones raised by the recent Canadian rebellion in 1837. Lord Ashburton, a member of the well-known Baring family, represented the English government, and the treaty agreed upon is known from him as the Ashburton Treaty.

New bound-
ary line.

By the terms of the treaty a new boundary line between Maine and New Hampshire on the one side and Canada on the other was agreed upon, and the claims of Massachusetts and Maine were settled by a money payment to them by the United States. As New England thought Great Britain was favored, and Great Britain that New England had the advantage, the settlement was probably fair to both nations.

Extradition
of criminals.

Besides the boundary question, the Canadian difficulties were arranged, and provision was made for the return, by either country, of criminals fleeing from justice. This last clause covered only a few of the grosser crimes, but it was a good beginning; for the principle had been only partly recognized before. This action led the way in affirming that the arrest of criminals and the lessening of crime are matters of international welfare. The right of search was passed over, but a declaration by Webster that sailors in American ships would "find their protection in the flag which is over them," was taken to mean that the United States would fight if an attempt was made to renew the practice in vogue before the War of 1812.

Right of
search.

Slave trade.

In regard to the right of search for the suppression of the slave trade, it was agreed that each nation should keep vessels cruising off the coast of Africa, and should work in harmony for the putting down of that traffic. By this negotiation war was averted, disputes of long standing

were settled, and honorable arrangements entered into for the prevention of crime and for the arrest of criminals. Great credit is due to Webster for his course in this matter. He resigned his position as Secretary soon after the treaty was signed. The next Congress had a Democratic majority, and the Whigs' short lease of power was over.

251. Dorr War ; Anti-Renters. (1840-1842.)— When Rhode Island entered the Union, she continued to be governed by the old colonial charter granted by Charles II. (sect. 19). It was liberal for the age in which it was granted, as is shown by the fact that it lasted for two hundred years. Under it the General Assembly of the state, at the suggestion of the king, had restricted the suffrage by imposing a property qualification, except in the case of the eldest sons of voters. The result was that only about one-third of those who in other states would have had the privilege of voting had that right in Rhode Island. The representation in the Assembly, having remained unchanged since 1663, was also very unfair.

Rhode
Island and
the suffrage.

From time to time petitions to enlarge the basis of suffrage were made to the Legislature by the disfranchised class, but these proved unavailing. In 1841, the discontented citizens called a convention to prepare a new constitution, claiming this procedure as a right belonging to free Americans. The proposed constitution was submitted to a popular vote, to be cast regardless of the legal provisions regulating the suffrage. A convention called by the order of the Legislature also prepared a new constitution, which was submitted to legal voters and rejected by them. The reformers declared their document accepted, and so at the time for the election of state officers, each party elected a set of officials.

The reformers chose Thomas W. Dorr governor, and

"Dorr War"
in Rhode
Island.

he in May, 1842, proceeded to enter upon the duties of office. The legal governor and his party denounced Dorr and his followers, appealed to the President of the United States, and called out the militia. The President increased the garrison of the fort at Newport, and sent the Secretary of War to watch the affair.

When Dorr found that it was possible that the United States forces might be arrayed against him, and that his small body of troops was melting away, he fled: returning to the state in 1844, he surrendered himself, was tried for treason, and condemned to life imprisonment. He was, however, released the next year (1845), under an amnesty bill of the Legislature.

Taught by experience, the Legislature had called a new convention, in which non-voters under the law were allowed to be represented; a new and more liberal constitution was drawn up, and afterward (1842) adopted by a popular vote in which votes of men who were to be enfranchised were received; thus the "Dorr War" came to an end without bloodshed.¹

In New York some of the descendants of the old Dutch patroons (sect. 35) still held the lands granted to their ancestors, and claimed from the tenants the old annual dues of produce. A growing dissatisfaction with this arrangement had existed among the tenants, who at last, about 1840, refused to pay rent. The militia were called out to aid in its collection, and this is known as the "Helderberg War." In 1847 and in 1850, a political faction known as the "Anti-Renters" made its appearance. Finally the matter was compromised — the owners offered to sell their

Anti-
Renters in
New York.

¹ In 1888 an amendment to the constitution of the state greatly enlarged the suffrage, and in 1893 more restrictions were removed. All that the Dorr party desired, and more, has now been obtained.

rights at a fair valuation, the tenants bought them, and this relic of feudalism passed away.

252. **Telegraph; Anæsthetics. (1827-1844.)** — Activity of thought was not only manifested in social and political matters, but also in the field of science. Samuel F. B. Morse, an American artist, having given his attention to electricity as a means of transmitting messages over wires, took out a patent for a system devised by him for this purpose in 1837. Money was lacking, but after long efforts an appropriation of thirty thousand dollars was made during the closing hours of a session of Congress, to assist him in testing the invention. With this money a line was set up in 1844 between Baltimore and Washington, which are forty miles apart, and his plan proved an entire success. The first message was, "What hath God wrought!"¹

The telegraph, in connection with steam, has to a wonderful degree changed the way of doing business. The merchant now has the prices of the markets of the world before him every morning, and can buy and sell during the same day in places with which, less than fifty years ago, it took months to communicate.



S.F.B. Morse
and the
Telegraph.

SAMUEL F. B. MORSE.
From "France's Life of Morse."

SAMUEL FINEIS BROTHER MORSE was born in Massachusetts, April 27, 1791. He graduated at Yale College, 1810, and went to Europe to study painting under Benjamin West and Washington Allston, and became a portrait painter in Paris, England, and Rome. In 1825, on a voyage home from Europe, he conceived the idea of an electric telegraph, and for several years worked at his invention in perfect seclusion. Though his claim to priority has been questioned, Morse undoubtedly introduced the most practical instrument. He received many medals of honor from European monarchs, and lost about \$80,000. He also seems to have been the first to suggest an Atlantic telegraph. He died April 2, 1872.

Telegraph
line between
Baltimore
and Wash-
ington, 1844.

¹ *Numbers* xxiii, 23.

Anæsthetics.

Another discovery of a very different nature from that of Morse, but one which has been of great benefit to mankind, was made in Boston, Massachusetts. It was found that deep sleep and insensibility to pain could be produced by the inhalation of the vapor of ether, and, that while a patient was in this condition surgical operations hitherto most painful could be performed upon him safely, without pain and even without his knowledge.

The honor of this great discovery has been claimed by two physicians, William T. G. Morton and Charles T. Jackson, and the exact amount of credit due to each is difficult to determine. Drugs which produce the effects described are called anæsthetics.

Mormons.

253. The Mormons. (1830-1844.)—The restlessness of the age was shown in the rise of new sects and of socialistic organizations. Among the former were the Mormons, or “Latter-Day Saints.” The founder, Joseph Smith, of western New York, professed to have received a revelation that in a certain hill he would find a book written upon gold plates, and giving a history of the former inhabitants of America and a revelation of the Gospel. With these plates he stated that he had found “two stones in silver bows which had been prepared for the purpose of translating the book.” This work he published in 1830, under the title of the Book of Mormon.¹

He and some associates began to gather a little church about them. They accepted the Bible, but declared that the Book of Mormon was a supplement to it, and held that future revelations supplementary to the Bible and to the Book of Mormon might be made. As they must come

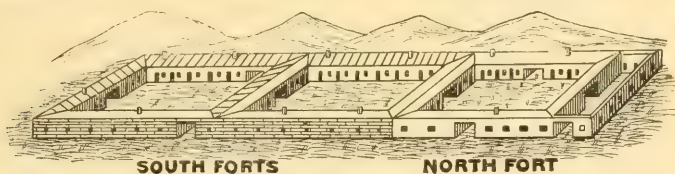
¹ It has been said that the Book of Mormon was written by a man named Solomon Spaulding, of Conneaut, Ohio, about 1810. and that a copy of the manuscript fell into Smith’s hands.

through the Prophet, or the head of the church, and were to be implicitly obeyed, the head of the Mormon church practically held absolute power.

Smith and his followers soon moved to Ohio, and thence to Missouri, being compelled to leave on account of the failure of a bank in which Smith was interested. Here they continued to gather adherents, until, becoming obnoxious to the people of Missouri for various reasons, chief among which, without doubt, was their attitude on anti-slavery, they were forced to recross the Mississippi River into Illinois.

Mormons in
Missouri.

Obtaining a tract of land and a liberal charter from the Legislature, they began to build a city, Nauvoo, on the



FORT, GREAT SALT LAKE CITY, 1848.

banks of the river. In 1843 a revelation was made, proclaiming polygamy legal and even praiseworthy. The population of Nauvoo had now become about fifteen thousand, and Smith declined to have the state laws executed within his bounds. It was not long before there was a collision between the Mormons and the state authorities, and Smith and his brother, having surrendered to the governor, were placed in jail for safe keeping, but a mob overpowered the guard and shot the prisoners.

Nauvoo.

254. Mormons in Utah. (1846-1848.) — As the opposition to the Mormons did not lessen, Brigham Young, a very able man, who had been chosen as Joseph Smith's successor, determined to lead his followers to Utah, in

Mormons in
Utah.

Mormons.

the far West, where they could carry out their laws and customs in peace. It was two years before the migration was completed, but in 1848 the whole band was settled in Utah, beyond the Rocky Mountains, and near Great Salt



SAMUEL HOUSTON.

SAMUEL HOUSTON, or as he called himself, Sam Houston, was born in Virginia, March 2, 1793, but was taken to Tennessee in early childhood. He studied law, was elected congressman in 1823, and governor of Tennessee in 1827. In 1829 he resigned his office, and leaving civilized life, lived for two or three years among the Cherokee Indians. In 1832 he removed to Texas and was one of the most active in helping to throw off the rule of Mexico. He was the first President of Texas, and after the annexation, United States Senator. He was governor of Texas, 1859, and was opposed to secession. He died July 26, 1863.

Texas.

Lake, where they founded Salt Lake City. They named their new state Deseret, which means, according to their interpretation, "The Land of the Honey Bee."

For many years the Mormon government was autocratic. The additions to their numbers were chiefly made from Great Britain, Norway, and Sweden, gathered by missionaries frequently sent out. The Mormons were very industrious; they soon built a handsome city, and brought the surrounding country under rich cultivation.

255. The South and Texas. (1827-1836.) — By the treaty of 1819, by which the United States acquired Florida, the western boundary of Louisiana was fixed at the Sabine River (sect. 199).

The South, wishing to extend slavery, or at least wishing to keep pace with the increase of power in the non-slaveholding states, saw a promising field in Texas, which had become a part of Mexico.

In 1827 and in 1829 the United States government had offered to buy Texas from Mexico, but the offers were declined. Many American settlers, chiefly from the southern

states, had migrated into Texas, taking their slaves with them. When Mexico, in 1824, abolished slavery, these settlers kept their slaves as before.

In 1836 the Texans revolted from Mexico, set up an independent state of their own, and expelled the Mexican forces. Of the fifty-seven signers of the Declaration of Texan Independence, fifty are said to have been from the southern states of the Union. In 1836 under General Sam Houston the Texans defeated the Mexicans in the battle of San Jacinto. Santa Anna, the Mexican dictator, was forced to recognize the independence of Texas — a recognition that the Mexicans disclaimed.

256. Texas Annexation Pushed. (1837-1844.)—Owing largely to the disordered state of Mexican affairs, Mexico, though steadily refusing to acknowledge the independence of Texas, made little or no effort to subdue her. In 1837 the United States, and not long after, England, France, and Belgium, recognized Texas as an independent power. An inefficient government soon brought the new state almost to bankruptcy, and annexation to the United States, which many persons think was intended from the first, became a matter of as great interest to Texas and her creditors as to the southern slaveholders.

In 1837, Texas, through her minister at Washington, made application for admission to the Union. A proposition to this effect was rejected in the Senate, and for some time no formal action was taken. Texan annexation, however, was pushed in every possible way by land speculators and politicians; by the former, because they wished to take advantage of the large advance in land values should Texas be admitted as one of the United States; by the latter, because they wished to increase the

Texas a
republic.

Texas inde-
pendent.

Applies for
admission to
the Union.

Texas.

territory open to slavery, and the representation of the South in the Senate.

Annexation
urged.

It was a difficult undertaking, for neither the Whigs nor the Democrats of the North were in favor of it, and of course the small Liberty party was violently opposed



JAMES K. POLK.

JAMES KNOX POLK was born in North Carolina, November 2, 1795. He removed to Tennessee, 1806. He graduated at the University of North Carolina in 1816. He was a member of Congress from Tennessee for several terms, and was twice Speaker of the House. He was elected governor of Tennessee, and in 1844 was chosen President of the United States. He died June 15, 1849, three months after leaving office.

Polk and
Dallas nomi-
nated, 1844.

place.¹ Clay, the Whig candidate, also opposed annexation, but in his anxiety to gain southern votes published declarations which displeased the Liberty party and some

to any such scheme. Van Buren, the most prominent man in the Democratic party, came out against the plan, and in consequence, through the influence of the southern members of the party, failed of nomination as candidate for the Presidency.

257. Polk elected; Admission of Texas. (1844-1845.)

—The Democratic convention, sitting in Baltimore, chose James K. Polk as candidate for President; Silas Wright, who was nominated as Vice-President, declined, and George M.

Dallas was chosen in his

¹ The nomination of Polk was the first news sent over Morse's telegraph just completed. Silas Wright was in the same way informed of his nomination, and declined it. The convention refused to believe the reply, and adjourned to the following day, until a messenger sent to verify the tidings could return.

northern Whigs. In the election which followed he lost thereby the great state of New York by a small majority, and with New York, the election.

The result of the election was taken as approving annexation; and accordingly, in the last hours of Tyler's administration, Congress passed a joint resolution in favor of admitting Texas. Tyler signed the document and at once sent off a messenger to Texas with the news; the proposition was accepted by Texas July 4, 1845, and in December of the same year she was formally admitted to the Union.

Texas admitted, 1845.

The passage of a resolution which required only a majority of votes, instead of a treaty which would have required a two-thirds vote in the Senate was a shrewd political device. Texas was the last slave state admitted. She is the only truly independent state that has ever entered the Union as a state, no others, not even the original thirteen, having ever exercised the power of negotiating treaties, sending ambassadors, or making war.

258. Polk's Measures. (1845.)—James K. Polk, of Tennessee, had been Speaker of the House of Representatives for four years. So the cry of the Whigs, "Who is James K. Polk?" had little to justify it. He was a man of excellent private character, but narrow in his political views, and a strong partisan. Tenacious of his ends, he was generally successful in carrying out what he had planned. The four great measures which he placed before himself were: (1) reduction of the tariff; (2) re-establishment of the Sub-Treasury; (3) settlement of the Oregon boundary question; and (4) the acquisition of California.

Character of Polk.

SUMMARY.

The inauguration of Andrew Jackson began a new era in American history. "The Spoils System" in politics began to be carried out during his term of office. Jackson was opposed to the Bank of the United States. Nullification in South Carolina was checked by him. Much trouble was experienced from the Indians in Georgia, in the West, and in Florida, where the Seminole War was carried on for several years at great expense and loss of life.

The material development of the country was very marked. Railroads were first brought into general use; reapers were invented; the propeller invented; asylums for the blind, deaf-mutes, and the insane founded; normal schools for the training of teachers established; and enterprising newspapers set up. Reforms of various kinds were begun, especially temperance and the abolition of slavery.

To succeed Jackson, Van Buren was chosen. His administration was marked by the great commercial panic of 1837. To follow Van Buren, the Whigs elected William Henry Harrison. He died after being one month in office, and John Tyler, the Vice-President, became President. He was really a Democrat, and soon quarrelled with the Whigs.

A treaty with Great Britain settled the northeast boundary and provided for the extradition of criminals. Among the important inventions were the telegraph and anæsthetics. The Mormons grew in numbers under Joseph Smith and Brigham Young, and moved to Utah.

Texas was annexed in 1845. James K. Polk was chosen President in 1844.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xliii.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE MEXICAN WAR AND SLAVERY.

REFERENCES.

A. B. Hart, *Source-Book*, Chaps. xvi., xvii.; H. C. Wright, *Children's Stories of American Progress*, Chaps. xiv.—xvi.

259. War with Mexico. (1846.) — With the annexation of Texas, the United States succeeded to a quarrel with Mexico. Texas claimed the Rio Grande as her southwestern boundary, while Mexico insisted that the Nueces River was the true division line. President Polk sent an envoy to Mexico; but the Mexicans would have nothing to do with the envoy, and he returned from a fruitless errand. Texan
claims.

Meanwhile, General Zachary Taylor, with a small body of troops, had been ordered to Corpus Christi, on the border of the disputed territory, and a little later to advance to Fort Brown (Brownsville), on the Rio Grande. The Mexicans naturally looked upon this as an invasion of their country, and ordered a body of troops across the river; an engagement soon followed, and the Mexican War was begun. This was April 24, 1846. Mexican
War begun,
1846.

President Polk, as soon as the news reached him, sent a message to Congress, in which he said, "Mexico has passed the boundary of the United States, has invaded our territory, and shed American blood upon the American soil." "War exists, and notwithstanding all our efforts to avoid it, exists by the act of Mexico herself." Congress responded

Mexican
War begun.

promptly by declaring that war existed "by the act of Mexico," authorizing a call for fifty thousand volunteers and expenditures for military supplies, and appropriating large sums to meet the expenses.¹

It was in relation to this message and two later ones in which the President reasserted the charge that Mexico had invaded "our territory" and shed "the blood of our citizens on our own soil," that Abraham Lincoln, in the House of Representatives, introduced in 1847 his "Spot Resolutions," calling upon the President to indicate the exact spot where this had taken place, and to inform the House whether the "citizens" had not been armed soldiers, sent there by the President's own orders.

Mexican
campaign.

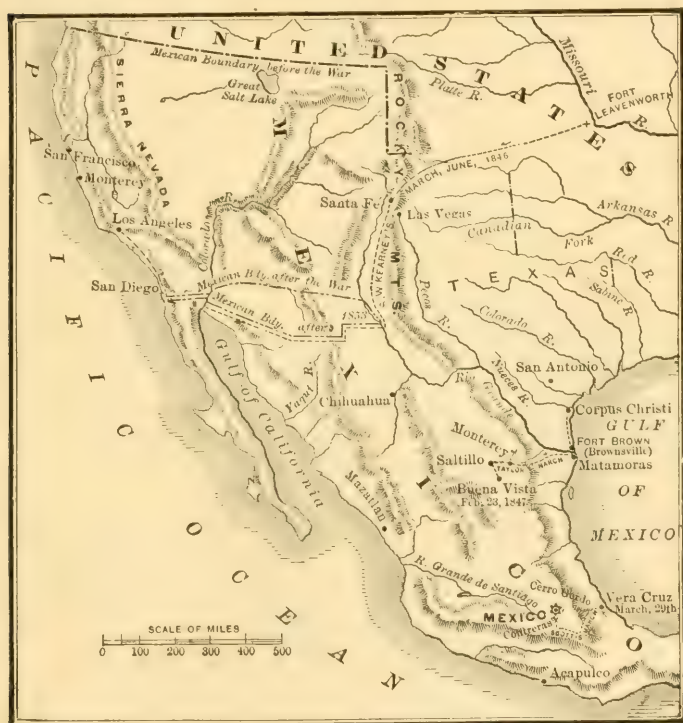
260. Mexican Campaign; New Mexico. (1846-1847.)—The whole campaign embraced four projects: (1) an attack upon Mexico from the north—this was intrusted to General Zachary Taylor; (2) an attack upon the city of Mexico—this was led by General Winfield Scott; (3) an attack upon New Mexico, including what is now known as Arizona—this was made under the direction of General Stephen W. Kearny; (4) an attack upon California by the fleet of American vessels which had been sent there in anticipation of war with Mexico. All these plans were carried out.

General
Taylor.

General Taylor, against heavy odds so far as numbers were concerned, defeated the Mexicans at Monterey, and at Buena Vista (February 27, 1847); but the government,

¹ It has been said that "the United States tried in vain to get a payment of what was due her citizens." The justice of these claims was very doubtful at best, and Mexico had done her utmost to pay them, the disordered condition of the country making it almost impossible to collect a revenue. When she thought she saw the meaning of the Texas negotiations, it was not unnatural that she should cease to make payment.

having determined to attack the capital, withdrew many of his men, and he was forced to cease operations. Before long, feeling himself ill-used by the administration, he resigned his position. The United States, however, continued to hold northern Mexico. Taylor resigns.



MAP OF THE MEXICAN WAR.

The expedition against New Mexico was entirely successful. By the summer of 1846 the region was controlled by United States forces, and Kearny, leaving part of his troops to retain it, set off for California; but before he New Mexico seized.

arrived, news was received that it was already in the possession of the United States.

California
occupied.

261. California Captured. (1845-1846.)—In the winter of 1845 Captain John C. Frémont, then on a third exploring expedition west of the Rocky Mountains, passed into California and took up the cause of the American settlers, who claimed to be oppressed by the Mexican governor. An independent government was set up, and through the cooperation of Frémont with Commodores Sloat and Stockton, who had captured almost without a struggle the ports of Monterey, San Francisco, and Los Angeles, the whole of California, a possession of incalculable value, fell into the hands of the United States.

General
Scott's cam-
paign.

262. Scott's Campaign ; City of Mexico Captured. (1847.)—It being clear that the Mexicans would be difficult to overcome, it was determined to attack the capital by a new route. A large naval force with twelve thousand troops sailed for Vera Cruz, the port of the city of Mexico. After a bombardment of four days, Vera Cruz, with the fort of San Juan de Ulloa, the strongest fortification in Mexico, surrendered.

About the middle of April, 1847, General Winfield Scott began his march to the city of Mexico from the very point and over nearly the route adopted so long before by Cortez. His discipline, skill, and intelligence, and the excellence of his troops, proved superior to the much larger numbers and great natural advantages of the Mexicans.

Mexicans
driven back.

The only serious resistance the American army met on its way was at Cerro Gordo, about fifty miles from Vera Cruz. Here, after a short conflict, the Mexicans under Santa Anna were driven back, and the victorious army continued its march. After several sharp battles in the



MAP SHOWING THE
TERRITORY ACQUIRED
FROM MEXICO
AS THE RESULT OF
THE MEXICAN WAR

C. J. PETERS & SON, ENGRAVERS, BOSTON

117 Longitude West 107 from Greenwich 97

immediate neighborhood of the city of Mexico, that city surrendered September 14, 1847, and the war was practically over.

263. Terms of Peace with Mexico. (1848.)— It was by no means easy to agree upon terms of peace. The one thing upon which the Mexicans of all factions were united, was that territory should not be given up; while territory was exactly what the United States had fought for. Moreover the United States held some of the fairest provinces of Mexico, and had no intention of returning them. Peace, 1848.

After many fruitless negotiations, and a revolution in Mexico, a treaty was arranged in February, 1848, at Guadalupe Hidalgo,¹ a little place near the capital. By its terms the United States was to pay Mexico \$15,000,000, satisfy claims of American citizens against her to the amount of about \$3,500,000, and receive in return the territory comprising New Mexico and Upper California. The Rio Grande was recognized as the boundary of Texas. By this treaty 522,568 square miles of territory was added to the United States.² Terms of peace.

The total cost to the United States of the Mexican War was in the neighborhood of \$100,000,000, besides the loss of life, which, while small on the battle-field or from wounds, was large from disease. Though successful in every encounter, the country had little cause for pride, for her successes were won in a questionable war against a weak and divided enemy. Cost of the war.

¹ Guadalupe Hidalgo (Gwah-dah-loo'pa Hee-dahl'go).

² In consequence of a difficulty regarding the exact boundary, a treaty was negotiated with Mexico, through James Gadsden in 1853, by which 45,535 square miles south of New Mexico were purchased from Mexico for the sum of \$10,000,000. This tract is usually called the Gadsden Purchase. Texas had added 371,063 square miles, making the total of these additions 939,166 square miles, so that again the United States had acquired more than the area of the original thirteen states.

There was at the time much opposition to the war, though not sufficient to prevent it.¹ While it has been far better that the large territory acquired should be under American control, there is little reason to doubt that it would soon have come under the rule of the United States through settlement, or purchase, or in some way less questionable than that which was followed.

Oregon.

264. Oregon. (1815-1846.)— It was not only the southern boundaries which were in dispute. The northeastern boundary difficulties with Great Britain had been settled in 1842, but at that time it had not seemed practicable to enter upon the question of the northwestern boundary, which was also in dispute. It was accordingly left for future negotiation, both countries maintaining a joint occupancy of the country west of the Rocky Mountains under an arrangement dating from 1818, and renewed from time to time. Very little was known in the eastern states of the character of the Oregon country. Many able men thought its possession of little moment and were quite ready to yield it to England.²

There was, however, in not a few states of the union much interest in the Oregon country, and a goodly number

¹ Lowell's "Biglow Papers," first series, express this feeling very clearly. General Grant said that the Mexican War was "one of the most unjust ever waged by a stronger against a weaker nation." "Personal Memoirs," i. 53.

² Senator McDuffie, of South Carolina, said as late as 1843: "What is the nature of this country? Why, as I understand it, seven hundred miles this side of the Rocky Mountains is uninhabitable; a region where rain seldom falls; a barren sandy soil; mountains totally impassable. Well, now, what are we going to do in this case? How are you going to apply steam? Have you made anything like an estimate of the cost of a railroad from here to the Columbia? Why, the wealth of the Indies would be insufficient. Of what use will this be for agricultural purposes? Why, I would not for that purpose give a pinch of snuff for the whole territory. I thank God for his mercy in placing the Rocky Mountains there."

of persons were ready to try their fortunes on the Pacific coast. The first band of emigrants went out from Massachusetts in 1832. The American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions in 1836 sent out to the Oregon Indians missionaries, among them Dr. Marcus Whitman. In the years following other missionaries, both Catholic and Protestant, were sent. A small band of emigrants went in 1841, a larger one the next year, and in 1843 a band of more than eight hundred persons emigrated to the distant country. Isolated from the rest of the population, these emigrants showed themselves good examples of the earnest, self-reliant, self-governing American pioneer.

Missionaries
to Oregon.

In the Presidential campaign of 1844, one of the Democratic cries had been, "Fifty-four forty [$54^{\circ} 40'$] or fight," that latitude being the southern boundary of the Russian possessions, and one which would exclude Great Britain altogether from the western coast of the continent. It was folly to suppose that England would agree to such terms without a conflict.¹ In his inaugural, Polk took a warlike tone which, though probably meant for political effect, stimulated the emigration already begun. In 1845, about seven thousand American citizens were actually living within Oregon, while the British occupancy was limited to a few forts and stations of the Hudson's Bay Company.

"Fifty-four
forty or
fight."

By the Florida treaty of 1819 the parallel of 42° north latitude had been agreed upon as the northern boundary of the Spanish possessions, and to this line Mexico extended without question; the disputed territory was therefore between 42° and $54^{\circ} 40'$. Of this the United States claimed all, while Great Britain claimed to a point somewhat south of the Columbia River.

¹ The United States already had offered to compromise on the line of 49° .

Boundary
line agreed
upon.

Neither the United States nor Great Britain had an indisputable claim, and so a compromise was the natural as well as the fairest settlement; this was agreed upon. The line of 49° north latitude, already the boundary from the Lake of the Woods to the Rocky Mountains was settled on as the line to the coast, but England was to retain Vancouver Island. This peaceful settlement "was at once just, honorable, and fortunate."¹

Sub-Treas-
ury.

265. Sub-Treasuries reestablished; Tariff; Polk's Success. (1846-1848.) — The Sub-Treasury system had been abolished in 1841, and the government had since availed itself of private banks. At the first session of the new Congress an improved system, though essentially similar to the old one, was devised, and a bill establishing it was promptly passed. This is still in force (1901).

Tariff of
1846.

Polk in his first message advised a revision of the tariff so as to reduce duties and make a tariff for revenue only. After a considerable struggle Congress passed a bill known as the Tariff of 1846; this was only a moderately protective measure, and until 1861 the country was more nearly upon a free trade basis than during any period since 1816. Under this tariff all duties were *ad valorem*.

It will be seen that in less than three years Polk had

¹ The claims of the United States to Oregon rested (1) on Gray's visit to the Columbia River in 1792 (sect. 174); (2) on Lewis and Clark's explorations (sect. 174); (3) on the Louisiana Purchase; (4) on the Spanish treaty of 1819; (5) on the retrocession by England of Astoria, an American post, after the War of 1812; (6) the American settlements south of the 49° parallel.

The treaty was proclaimed in force August 5, 1846. From the coast the boundary line was to follow "the middle of the channel which separates the continent from Vancouver Island." A question having arisen as to the true channel, the matter was not settled until 1871 (see sect. 371). The Oregon country thus confirmed to the United States embraced the present states of Oregon, Washington, Idaho, and parts of Montana and Wyoming.

accomplished the main objects he had set before himself on entering office (sect. 258), and he might well feel satisfied with his success. The tariff had been reduced, the Sub-Treasury had been reëstablished, the Oregon question had been settled, and California had been acquired.

266. Gold in California. (1848.)—No one suspected the great value of California. It was known to be of exceptional fertility; this, together with the splendid harbor of San Francisco, was enough to make it highly desirable in American eyes. Scarcely, however, had the treaty with Mexico been arranged when news was brought of the discovery of gold.¹ Gold in California.

At once (1849) there was a rush to the gold fields. There were at that time two ways to get there, — around Cape Horn, and by the route overland. By these two routes men hastened to the new El Dorado. Of the two, the overland route was perhaps the more dangerous, for the path lay across vast plains, unoccupied except by herds of buffalo and hostile Indians, while the Mormons were directly in the track, resenting the invasion of their territory, and doing all in their power to harass the slowly moving trains of emigrants. So great was the loss of life among the cattle, and, indeed, among the emigrants themselves, that it was said that the trail could be kept by following the line of whitening bones. Rush to the gold fields, 1849.

A third route, by ship or steamer to the Isthmus of Panama, thence across the isthmus and by water to San

¹ The discovery was made by a man named Marshall, during the construction of a mill-race in the valley of the American River, for the sawmill of a Swiss immigrant, Captain Sutter. Gold was actually discovered in January, 1848, before the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo had been signed, but news travelled so slowly in those days that the fact was not fully appreciated in the eastern states until December, when President Polk, in his annual message, confirmed the reports and gave them great publicity.

Emigrants
in Califor-
nia.

Francisco, was soon opened, and became the favorite way of reaching California until the Pacific railroad offered a pleasanter and more rapid means of travel.

Notwithstanding the hardships, in less than two years there were fully one hundred thousand emigrants within the bounds of California. Most of the emigrants were from the free states, and this fact had an important influence upon the after history, not only of California, but of the whole country.

Slavery and
the new ter-
ritory.

267. Wilmot Proviso. (1846.) — The acquisition of so much territory again brought up the question of slavery, and in a way that demanded an answer. Texas had been admitted as a slave state, but all the other territory had been free under Mexico. Should this new territory be free or slave under the United States? As a rule southern men would not settle where they could not take their slaves with them. The North would resist any proposition to make slave territory of that which was already free. If the Missouri Compromise of 1820 were applied to the new country, the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$ would divide California nearly in halves; but this satisfied neither the Northerners, whose principles it violated, nor the Southerners, who would thus be shut out from some of the most desirable lands.

"Wilmot
Proviso."

While the question of obtaining territory from Mexico was being debated in Congress, David Wilmot, a Democratic member of the House from Pennsylvania, proposed an amendment to the bill, providing that slavery should be forever prohibited in any territory that might be purchased from Mexico. This is known as the "Wilmot Proviso," and though it passed the House of Representatives (1846), it failed in the Senate. It was, however, a political watchword in the next two or three Presidential campaigns.¹

¹ Hannibal Hamlin (afterward Vice-President), in the absence of Wilmot, introduced for him the proviso in the House of Representatives.

268. **Presidential Candidates ; Free-soil Party ; Whigs elect Taylor.** (1848.)—In this state of affairs the time for nominating candidates for the Presidency came round. Clear-headed men saw that now there was a distinct issue before the country, but the leaders of both of the great parties dodged the question, and each nominating convention refused to commit itself in regard to slavery. The Democrats chose Lewis Cass of Michigan, as candidate for President, and William O. Butler of Kentucky for Vice-President. The Whigs, following the course which had been so successful in 1840, nominated Zachary Taylor of Louisiana, with Millard Fillmore of New York for Vice-President. Taylor was a slaveholder, but was believed to be opposed to the extension of slavery.

A number of Whigs and northern Democrats who supported the Wilmot Proviso, dissatisfied with the action of the conventions in regard to slavery, resolved to form a new party. A convention of these, held at Buffalo, formed the "Free-soil Party"; the old Liberty party joined them, and the convention nominated Martin Van Buren and Charles Francis Adams.

In the election which followed, though this party did not

Presidential nominations, 1848.



Zachary Taylor.

ZACHARY TAYLOR.

ZACHARY TAYLOR was born in Virginia, November 24, 1784. He was educated in Kentucky, his father having removed to that state in 1785. He entered the United States army in 1808, and took part in the various Indian wars and showed himself to be a skilful officer. His victories in the Mexican War made him the Whig candidate for President, and he was elected. He died in office, July 9, 1850. He was a man of sterling character, and was known as "Old Rough and Ready."

Taylor
elected,
1848.

get a single electoral vote, it succeeded in dividing the Democrats in New York, with the result of giving that state to the Whigs, and thereby electing Taylor and Fillmore, who received a majority of electoral votes in both the free and the slave states.

It was because of Taylor's military success alone that he was chosen as a candidate. He himself acknowledged that he had never voted in his life, and had no political training whatever; and many stories were told to show his lack of acquaintance with political affairs. He was a man of integrity, and proved to be a far better chief officer than some who had had greater opportunities. His death, which occurred after he had been sixteen months in office, was an undoubted loss to the country.

California
sets up a
government.

269. California sets up a Government. (1849.)—With the emigrants to California went a large number of ruffians, thieves, and villains of all descriptions, and the condition of that country was a lawless one. The order-loving men among the emigrants, disgusted at the dilatoriness of Congress, which had provided no government for them, set up in 1849 a government of their own, and, by the advice of President Taylor, applied to Congress for admission as a state. A clause in the proposed constitution prohibiting slavery aroused opposition to the measure among the southern members of Congress. During the discussion of the question the President died, and the Vice-President, Millard Fillmore, assumed the duties of the Presidential office.

Death of
Taylor,
1850.

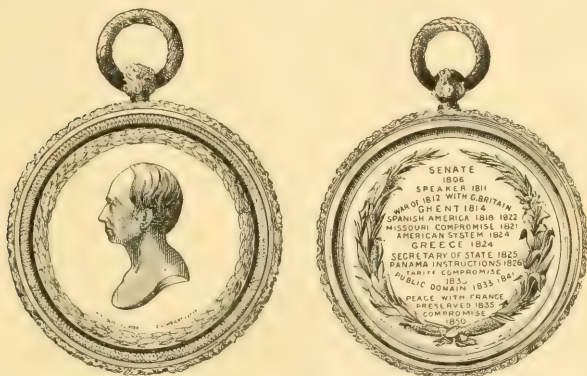
Questions
before Con-
gress.

270. Difficult Questions before Congress. (1849-1850.)—Texas claimed that her western boundary was the river Rio Grande to its source. This claim took in territory which had always been considered a part of Mexico. But the Texans, supported by the South as a whole, persevered

in their claim. Should these claims of Texas be allowed? Should California come in as a free state? Should New Mexico and Utah be organized as territories with or without slavery? These were the questions before the Congress of 1849-1850.

Another matter was also forcing itself into notice. The South complained that the old fugitive slave law of 1793, for the return of runaway slaves to their owners, was not enforced, and was inadequate. The North on its side com-

Fugitive
slaves.



MEDAL PRESENTED BY CONGRESS TO HENRY CLAY.

plained of the slave trade in the city of Washington, declaring it to be a disgrace to the country. It was now evident that the question of slavery had got into politics and would stay there until some settlement could be made.

271. Compromise of 1850.—Extremists on both sides demanded secession as the only remedy, while the moderate men of both sides believed that some arrangement like the Missouri Compromise could be made. Henry Clay had come forward in 1820 as the “Great Pacificator”; now through his influence a committee of the Senate pre-

Compromise
of 1850.

pared the "Omnibus Bill," so called because it provided for so many different things.

Compromise
of 1850.

The bill was a compromise measure designed to settle all existing troubles. Its different provisions were taken up separately, and finally passed one by one with little modification. This arrangement is known as the Compromise of 1850. The chief points were (1) that California should be admitted as a free state; (2) that New Mexico and Utah should be organized as territories without reference to slavery; (3) that Texas should give up some of her claims to the lands in dispute, but should receive \$10,000,000 for so doing; (4) that the slave trade in the District of Columbia should be forbidden, though slavery itself should be allowed¹; (5) that a new and more stringent fugitive slave law should be enacted.

Webster's
"Seventh of
March
Speech."

272. Webster and the Fugitive Slave Law. (1850.)—The debate in Congress over these measures was long and bitter. Daniel Webster, in a speech on the 7th of March, 1850, defended the compromise and attacked the Abolitionists as disturbers of the country, at the same time apologizing for slavery. This speech caused a great sensation all over the country. Though his motive for making it has never been clearly explained, it was probably the fear of secession. Whatever the motive, Webster's great influence was gone. Many of his former friends looked upon him as a renegade, and even southern men distrusted him. He died in 1852, without regaining his former prestige.²

273. California admitted; the Fugitive Slave Law.

¹ This, while yielding something to the antislavery sentiment, would allow members of Congress and others to bring their slaves to the capital without question.

² See Whittier's poems, "Ichabod," 1850, and "The Lost Occasion," 1880.

(1850.)—There seems to be little doubt that the Compromise of 1850 was acceptable to the majority of the people both north and south. What they wished for was peace. California was admitted as a free state September 9, 1850, and the other provisions of the compromise were carried out.

California
admitted,
1850.

The new fugitive slave law, however, aroused much feeling when it became more fully understood. Its provisions were rigid. The whole matter was put under the charge of United States officials. The fugitive was not permitted to testify; cases were to be decided without a jury by a United States commissioner or judge, from whose decision there was to be no appeal by *habeas corpus* or otherwise; the simple affidavit of the alleged owner or his agent was sufficient, on proof of identity, to send the fugitive back into slavery; on slight evidence the case could be removed from the state where the alleged fugitive was captured to the state from which it was claimed that he had fled; all persons were required to aid in the capture of the runaways should the marshal call on them for help; obstructing the arrest of fugitives, or concealing them, or in any way aiding their escape, was punishable by heavy fine and by imprisonment.

Fugitive
slave law.

At once there arose a cry from the North that such a law was "unjust, unconstitutional, and immoral." As a political measure the law was very unwise, for nothing that had been done previously had so tended to force the subject of slavery on the attention of the people of the North. It was not long before many of the northern states passed "Personal Liberty Laws," designed to obstruct as much as possible the execution of the obnoxious law. Meanwhile the Antislavery party was rapidly increasing.

Opposition
in the North.

"Personal
Liberty
Laws."

274. Census; Great Increase of Immigration. (1850.)—The census of 1850 showed that the population had

United
States in
1850.

increased more than one-third over that of 1840. In every way the country was growing ; manufactories were rapidly increasing in the eastern and middle states, railroads were stretching out farther and farther west, and commerce, both foreign and along the coast was extending, the United States being surpassed in tonnage by Great Britain only. The outlook for the country from a material point of view was highly promising.

Immigration.

A great famine in Ireland in 1847 ; a number of political revolutions in Europe, which forced many to leave their homes ; the news of the discovery of gold in California ; and the stories of the freedom of America ; — all combined to cause a vast increase of immigration. From a yearly average for the preceding twenty-five years of less than one hundred thousand the number had grown to more than three hundred thousand in 1850. It was a significant fact that, with the most trifling exceptions, all these immigrants settled in the free states and territories.

Inventions.

275. Inventors. (1839-1846.) — Political quarrels and struggles did not choke the spirit of invention and enterprise which is now recognized as an American characteristic. It was, however, only after years of discouragement and toil that Elias Howe, Jr., of Massachusetts, in 1846 patented his sewing-machine. The great feature of his invention was the position of the eye in the point of the needle ; it was this that made his machine successful, and all subsequent improvements have retained this feature. It was not until 1854 that Howe fully established his claim and reaped the reward of his ingenuity.

Sewing-
machines.

In 1839 Charles Goodyear and Nathaniel Haywood of Connecticut discovered that sulphur mixed with india-rubber at a high temperature would result in a composition that can be worked into almost any shape. This process

of treating rubber with sulphur is known as vulcanizing, and was patented in 1844. Many great improvements have since been made, and rubber is now extensively used in the manufacture of a great variety of articles. Rubber.

276. Postage (1845); Department of the Interior (1849).—Previous to 1845 the postage on letters was charged according to the number of sheets and the distance the letter was carried, the amount due being collected on delivery.¹

In 1845 a new law was passed, reducing the postage to five cents for all distances under three hundred miles and ten cents for greater distances, the charge to be according to weight, a half-ounce being taken as the unit. In 1847 postage stamps of these denominations were issued and the modern system of postal administration was fairly begun. In 1851 the postage on letters was again reduced, a uniform charge of three cents per half-ounce or fraction thereof being established, regardless of distance, except in the cases of the extreme West and the Pacific coast.² In 1875 the International Universal Postal Union, with headquarters at Berne, began operations, and now almost all nations Postal rates.

International Postal Union.

¹ Postage rates were fixed by act of Congress in 1792, and afterward modified in 1816 and at other times. In 1843, for a distance not over thirty miles, the rate for a single sheet was six cents; from thirty to eighty miles, ten cents; eighty to one hundred and fifty miles, twelve and one-half cents, and so on, according to distance, the highest rate being twenty-five cents for over four hundred miles. Two pieces of paper were charged double these rates. These were the inland charges; ocean postage was proportionally higher.

² The postage on papers, books, and printed matter was also (1851) greatly lessened. In 1883 the letter rate was reduced to two cents, and in 1885 the unit for domestic letter postage was made one ounce. Postal cards, introduced by Austria, were first issued by the United States in May, 1873. Ocean postage was also, largely through the efforts of the United States, reduced to five cents per half-ounce (or to speak accurately, per fifteen grammes), and that upon printed matter in proportion.

have joined it, making uniform international postal rates for nearly the whole world. This is one of the greatest triumphs of modern civilization.

Department
of the Interior,
1849.

In 1849 a new department was added to the executive branch of the government, called the Department of the Interior, because everything under its charge is connected with internal affairs. None of the other branches of the government has under its direction a greater variety of interests; among them are the Public Lands, the Patent Office, Pensions, the Indians, the Census, and Education. The Secretary is a member of the President's Cabinet. Most of the duties had previously been performed by the Department of State.

New party
leaders.

277. New Party Leaders; Presidential Nominations. (1852.)—John C. Calhoun died in 1850; Henry Clay and Daniel Webster in 1852. New party leaders came upon the scene from both the South and the North. Among the Democrats were Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois and Jefferson Davis of Mississippi; among the southern Whigs, Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia; while the new Antislavery party gained great strength in Congress by the election to seats in the House or Senate of Charles Sumner of Massachusetts, Salmon P. Chase of Ohio, and William H. Seward of New York.

A change in the great political parties of the country was now inevitable. Slavery must divide the northern and southern wings of both Democrats and Whigs. The anti-slavery Whigs began to go to the Free-soil party, as did also the antislavery Democrats of the North. In the South the pro-slavery Whigs tended to unite with the Democrats; thus in both North and South the Whigs were losing numbers, while the Democratic losses in the North were more than offset by the gains in the South.

When the time came to choose a President, the Whigs, hoping to win again through military glory, nominated General Winfield Scott, with William A. Graham of North Carolina for Vice-President. The Democrats nominated Franklin Pierce of New Hampshire for President, and William R. King of Alabama for Vice-President. Both the Whigs and the Democrats upheld in their platforms the Compromise of 1850, including the Fugitive Slave Law. The Free-soil convention nominated John P. Hale of New Hampshire and George W. Julian of Indiana. In the election the Democrats carried all the states except four, though in some the majority was small.¹

General
Scott nomi-
nated.

Pierce
elected.

278. Franklin Pierce; World's Fairs; Japan. (1853.)—The Free-soil party polled a smaller vote than in the preceding election. It seemed as if the Compromise of 1850 was about to be fairly tested. Though Pierce had been in political life for a number of years, and had been a brigadier-general in the Mexican War, he had done nothing to bring himself before the notice of the country at large. He was chosen simply because the convention was afraid to nominate one of the party leaders.

Among the peaceful occurrences of this troubled administration may be mentioned the American World's Fair, which was held at New York in 1853. England had held in 1851, at London, a grand exhibition to illustrate the world's progress in arts and sciences, and to this she had invited the world to contribute. It had been a great success, and the United States wished to follow her example. The New York Fair was of great use in giving the American people a knowledge of the products and manufactures of other countries. These two fairs were

World's
Fair, 1853.

¹ The four states were Massachusetts, Vermont, Tennessee, and Kentucky.

the pioneers of the numerous expositions which have followed in various lands.

Japanese
ports
opened,
1854.

Japan, like China, had closed her ports to foreign countries for centuries. Commodore Matthew C. Perry was sent in 1853 to try to open negotiations, and succeeded in 1854 in making a treaty with the military ruler of Japan by which certain ports were opened. Skilful diplomacy accomplished that which other nations had attempted in vain.

Pacific
railroad.

279. Pacific Railroad ; "Uncle Tom's Cabin." (1853.) — The acquisition of California, the discovery of gold there, and the prospect of intercourse with Japan, heightened the desire for communication between the Atlantic and Pacific oceans by some route shorter than that around Cape Horn or that by the way of the Isthmus. With this end in view the government sent out, in 1853, an expedition to examine the different routes that might seem suitable for a railroad to the Pacific. A full report of these various surveys was published by Congress; it forms a valuable account of that part of the country at that time. It was not until 1862 that a Pacific railroad was begun, and seven years went by before the East and West were joined by rails (sect. 366).

"Uncle
Tom's
Cabin."

In 1852 Harriet Beecher Stowe published "Uncle Tom's Cabin," a story of slave life in the South. This book made an immense sensation; within a year of its publication over three hundred thousand copies had been sold. It presented the subject of slavery in a way that took hold of the public, and was largely instrumental in changing the question from a political to a moral one. Few books have had so rapid and so wide a circulation. It was read all over Europe, and has been translated into twenty different languages.¹

¹ Its popularity is still great. It was first issued as a serial story, 1851-1852, in the *National Era*, an antislavery newspaper published at the city of Washington.

280. Kansas-Nebraska Bill. (1854.) — By the Missouri Compromise (sect. 205) slavery was not to be allowed outside of the state of Missouri, north of the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$. The Compromise of 1850 (sect. 271) had done nothing to interfere with this arrangement, for it related only to land acquired from Mexico, while the Missouri Compromise related to the Louisiana Purchase. It would seem that slavery as a national question had been settled, at least for a time, by the compromises of 1820 and of 1850.

In 1854 Stephen A. Douglas, a Democratic senator from Illinois, introduced into Congress what is known as the "Kansas-Nebraska Bill," providing for the organization of two new territories west of Missouri and Iowa, both within the Louisiana Purchase and north of the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$. It was further declared that the question of slavery in the territories was one to be decided by the inhabitants of the territories, and not by Congress; that Congress, in 1820, had no right to legislate concerning slavery, and that therefore it was still an open question.

"Kansas-
Nebraska
Bill,"
854.

This doctrine, as stated in the bill, was called at the time "Squatter Sovereignty," the early settlers being often called squatters. Though the northern members of Congress insisted that this was a breach of faith, and that such a result was not thought of in the Compromise of 1850, the bill was passed and signed by the President.

"Squatter
Sover-
eignty."

281. American Party. (1852-1856.) — About this time a new party was organized, called by its members the "American Party," but generally known as the "Know-Nothing" party. This name arose from the fact that in the earlier days of the organization it was a secret order, and its members, when asked any questions about it, always answered, "I don't know." As the name American indicated, it was opposed to everything foreign, its watchword

American
Party, or
"Know-
Nothings."

"Know-
Nothings."

being "America for Americans." The large increase in the number of immigrants, and the looseness with which the naturalization laws were carried out, made the restriction of the suffrage to native Americans, and to those who had resided for a long period in the United States, a cardinal doctrine of the "Americans." To this was added, at first, opposition to the alleged political influence of the Catholic Church.

This party grew rapidly, and at one time it seemed likely to become a rival to the Democrats; but, dodging the question of slavery, it tried to make "nativism" a national issue. Where so many voters were themselves immigrants, it was natural that the attempt failed. The party disappeared after the Presidential election of 1856.

Condition
of the
South.

282. Condition of the South. (1852.) — The southern people did not encourage free immigrants, for they were afraid that free labor would make the slaves discontented, and in the end lead to insurrections. In fact, the slaveholder was afraid of anything that might increase the intelligence of his slaves, and this was natural; for he had found from experience that as a negro gained knowledge he became more dissatisfied with his condition.

Agriculture
in the
South.

The result of this policy was that even agriculture became less and less profitable; the cultivation of cotton and tobacco claiming in many parts of the South almost the whole attention of the planters, while wheat and corn, both of which were adapted to the climate, were too often neglected. Rotation of crops in many places was not observed, and the land was not properly enriched.

Though the aggregate of the cotton and tobacco crops increased, the profits became less, on account of the wasteful and unscientific methods of cultivation employed. The plantations were often managed by overseers who had little

or no interest in anything except in getting the largest returns year by year, regardless of the effect on the land; the slaves, on their part, wished to do as little work as possible, and were apt to distrust improved methods and implements; and some of the planters paid little attention to their estates, often spending a large part of their time away from home.

So, though it was not recognized at the time, the South was pursuing an unwise policy if she wished to keep abreast of the North. A very few, in both North and South, saw the real tendency of affairs and spoke out, but they were not believed. One thing, however, the southern leaders did see clearly, which was that their political power would before long be greatly lessened unless something could be done to change the course of events.

283. Representation in Congress; Cuba. (1850-1852.) — The membership of the House of Representatives is based upon population; and as the free states were increasing faster than the slave states (Appendix VI.), it was simply a question of time when the former would have control of both branches of Congress. The South had long seen this. An examination of the tables of representation in Congress (Appendix VII.) will show that from 1820 to 1848 the representation of the sections of the country in the Senate were equal. This was due to the fact that a slave state was admitted to balance every free state, but in 1850 this arrangement came to an end by the admission of California as a free state. So it was clear that in the Senate also the South would lose control if anything should divide the Democratic party. For this reason, it was a mistake for the Democrats to support the Kansas-Nebraska Bill, as it could hardly fail to divide the northern Democrats.

Representa-
tion in
House of
Representa-
tives.

Representa-
tion in the
Senate.

Cuba.

One way to retain power was to acquire more territory which would be open to slavery. For this purpose the island of Cuba offered great attractions: in it slavery already existed; it was fertile and well adapted to the cultivation of crops usually raised by slave labor; and it was owned by Spain, a weak and needy power, who might be forced, if not cajoled, into disposing of it to a powerful neighbor. At first, adventurers tried to seize Cuba, with the idea of subsequent admission to the Union. These Filibusters, as they were called, were unsuccessful in their attempts to seize the island; a number of them were captured, and were promptly executed by the Spanish government.¹

Ostend
Manifesto.

284. Ostend Manifesto. (1854.) — In 1854 the United States ministers to Great Britain, France, and Spain, who were respectively James Buchanan, John Y. Mason, and Pierre Soulé, were instructed by President Pierce to meet and confer as to the best means of acquiring Cuba.

They met at Ostend, Belgium, and after some discussion issued what is known as the "Ostend Manifesto," a document in which they said that the possession of Cuba was a necessity for the United States; and that if Spain persisted in refusing to sell the island, the United States would be justified in seizing it. This paper occasioned considerable comment abroad, but the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill and the threatening aspect of home affairs, prevented any further agitation of the subject.

¹ The most notorious of the Filibusters was "General" William Walker, who organized several expeditions against the Central American States between 1855 and 1860. After actually succeeding in making himself at one time President of Nicaragua, he was at last captured and shot in Honduras, in 1860. The Civil War put an end to filibustering.

285. Troubles in Kansas. (1854-1858.)—The principle of "squatter sovereignty" having been made the rule for the new territories, it was evident that the party which could secure the greatest number of settlers would decide whether the territory, and the subsequent state, should be free or slave. Accordingly, as soon as the bill was signed, both North and South began to pour settlers into the new territories, but especially into Kansas. Troubles in Kansas.

In this struggle the North had the decided advantage, for the slaveholders hesitated about taking their slaves where there was a risk of losing them. In the eastern states great interest was taken in this western emigration, and societies were organized for encouraging and aiding it. Kansas emigrants. In order to avoid Missouri, the emigrants from the free states took the roundabout way through Iowa.

The settlers who opposed slavery were soon in the majority; but as all the settlers were near the Missouri boundary, the pro-slavery party was reënforced by men from the latter state, who at every election crossed the line and voted more than enough ballots to counterbalance the free vote; sometimes, indeed, the number of ballots counted was more than the whole number of voters in the territory.

The free settlers declined to recognize legislatures so chosen or laws made by them, but, holding elections of their own, chose legislatures and framed constitutions in accord with their own views. Of course, the pro-slavery element refused to acknowledge these actions, and unfortunately the trouble did not stop with words and elections. Men were attacked and shot, public buildings, houses, and even whole villages were destroyed by the "Border Ruffians," as they were called. The settlers from the East and North, feeling that their just rights "Border Ruffians."

were invaded, met force with force, and retaliated with a severity perhaps quite equal to that which they themselves experienced. The whole territory was in a state of actual war.

The administration at Washington generally sided with the pro-slavery party; but though governor after governor was sent out, it seemed impossible to preserve peace. It was not long before the free settlers had so increased in numbers as to be warranted in asking that the territory should be admitted to the Union as a state, but though they petitioned Congress more than once, their request was not granted until 1861.

SUMMARY.

The annexation of Texas brought on war with Mexico, in which the United States was successful. New Mexico and Upper California were annexed to the United States.

By treaty with Great Britain the Oregon question was settled by taking the line 49° north latitude as the boundary. The Independent Treasury system was established under Polk. Gold was discovered in California and there was in 1849 a great rush of emigrants to the gold fields.

The Whigs elected Taylor President in 1848. He died, and Vice-President Fillmore succeeded. A great compromise between the slavery and antislavery men in Congress was arranged in 1850. California was admitted as a state, 1850. Calhoun died in 1850, and Clay and Webster in 1852. The Kansas-Nebraska Bill allowed "squatter sovereignty," and the Kansas troubles followed.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xliv.

CHAPTER XIV.

INCREASE OF SECTIONAL FEELING.

REFERENCES.

A. B. Hart, *Source-Book*, Chap. xvii. ; J. T. Champlin, *Young Folks' History of the War for the Union*.

286. "Anti-Nebraska Men"; Republicans; Charles Sumner. (1854-1856.) — The Kansas trouble caused intense excitement in the country and on the floors of Congress, and "bleeding Kansas" was a phrase often used in the North. In the election following the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill the opponents of the measure united and elected enough members to control the House of Representatives.

Anti-
Nebraska
men.

It was not long before the Anti-Nebraska men, as they were called, took the name of Republicans, and formed the Republican party. This party, since so well known, was composed chiefly of the old northern antislavery Whigs, with whom were joined many of those who held antislavery views in the Free-soil, the American, and the Democratic parties. The new party had few sympathizers in the South, except among the Germans of Missouri and among the inhabitants of western Virginia.

Republi-
cans.

During the debate in Congress Charles Sumner, a senator from Massachusetts, spoke very severely of one of the South Carolina senators. Preston S. Brooks, a member of the House of Representatives from South Carolina, and

Assault
upon
Sumner.

a nephew of the aggrieved senator, came into the Senate chamber after the adjournment of that body, and attacked Sumner who was seated at his desk, beat him about the head with a heavy cane, injuring him so severely that for nearly four years he was unable to resume his place.

For this assault Brooks was censured by the House of Representatives and fined by a Washington court of justice. He at once resigned his place, but was almost unanimously reelected, only six votes being cast against him. This incident added greatly to the bitter feeling already existing between the great sections of the country.

Presidential
nominations,
1856.

287. Presidential Nominations and Election of 1856. — The Presidential election of 1856 was one of the most important that had yet been held. The Democrats nominated James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, and John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky, both supporters of the Kansas-Nebraska Bill; the American party ignored the slavery question, and nominated Millard Fillmore of New York, and Andrew J. Donelson of Tennessee. The new Republican party met for the first time in a convention, and nominated John C. Frémont of California, and William L. Drayton of New Jersey. The cry of the new party was, "Free soil, free speech, free men, and Frémont."

James
Buchanan
elected,
1856.

In the election which followed, Buchanan and Breckinridge were chosen; but the new party, hardly two years old, had carried eleven out of the fifteen free states, and polled a popular vote of nearly a million and a half.

The Americans carried only the state of Maryland, and from this time ceased to exist as a party. The signs of the times clearly indicated that, in another four years, an antislavery President might be chosen.

288. "Dred Scott Case": Fugitive Slaves. (1856-1857.) — Curiously enough, the constitutionality of the

Missouri Compromise (sect. 205) had never been brought before the United States Supreme Court until "The Dred Scott Case"¹ in 1855. Though the case had been argued before the court, the decision was not made public till after the inauguration of Buchanan.

When published, the "Dred Scott decision" created great indignation in the North, for it upheld the extreme southern view of slavery in almost all respects. It said, in short, that negroes could not be citizens; that they were property, and therefore slaves could be taken anywhere in the United States in the same way as other property; that the Missouri Compromise was unconstitutional; and that Congress had no right to forbid slavery in the territories.

If the Kansas-Nebraska Bill had been obnoxious to the North, this decision was far more so, and many determined to ignore it, and if needful, to resist the execution of decrees in accordance with it. That Chief Justice Taney was sincere in his opinion no one can doubt, but he allowed himself to go beyond the legal questions at issue, and to make a political and historical argument which was, to say the least, inappropriate and unbecoming.

Soon after the rise of the antislavery movement there

¹ Dred Scott, a negro slave of Missouri, was taken in 1834 by his owner, first into Illinois, and then into Minnesota Territory. This latter was part of the country from which slavery was excluded by the Missouri Compromise. While in Minnesota Scott married. He was brought back to Missouri in 1838. After some time he discovered that by previous decisions of the Missouri courts his residence in Illinois and Minnesota had made him a free man. Having been whipped by his master he brought suit against him, claiming that he himself was a free man. The court, before which the case came, decided in his favor. On appeal, the Supreme Court of Missouri reversed this decision. Scott's owner now sold him and his family to a citizen of New York. The case was taken into the United States Courts, and was finally appealed to the Supreme Court in 1855. Here the decision (1857) was against Scott, as given above. Dred Scott was afterward set free by his owner.

“Under-
ground
Railroad.”

came into existence what was known as “The Underground Railroad.” This was simply the concerted action of a number of Abolitionists who sympathized with the fugitive slaves, secreted them, and helped them on from point to point on their way to Canada or some other place of safety. Several instances of fugitive slaves reclaimed under the law of 1850 excited much anger in the North, and made the execution of the law more and more difficult.

Sectional
feeling.

When the decision of the Supreme Court was added to what had been done before, the patience of many was ex-



JAMES BUCHANAN.

JAMES BUCHANAN was born in Pennsylvania, April 23, 1791. He graduated at Dickinson College, 1809, and studied law. He was member of Congress, 1820; minister to Russia, 1831; Senator, 1833; Secretary of State, 1845; minister to Great Britain, 1853-1857; and was elected President, 1856. His career as President is noted elsewhere. He died June 1, 1868.

James
Buchanan.

hausted, and they made no secret of their views; thus the feeling between the sections became more embittered than ever. Still the majority of the people of the free states looked upon slavery as a necessary evil in the states where it existed, and believing that it was in such cases a state matter, would have gladly welcomed a way to take it out of national politics. The Abolitionists in 1857 were a small company.

289. James Buchanan; the Mormons. (1857.) —

James Buchanan was sixty-six years old. He was a man of good character, a trusted politician in his party, which had bestowed upon him many political offices, and he was favorable to the pro-slavery element. He declared it to be his purpose to execute the “high and responsible duties”

of his office "in such a manner as to restore harmony and ancient friendship among the people of the several states."

The Mormons (sect. 254) had prospered in their new western home, but they had declined to be bound by the United States laws. They had tried to prevent the immigration of non-Mormons, and were believed to have murdered many immigrants who came near their territory. In 1857 the President sent a detachment of troops to bring them into obedience. After some delay and difficulty this was nominally done, but the Mormons continued for many years to ignore the laws relating to polygamy.

Mormons.

290. Panic; Ocean Telegraph Cable. (1857.) — The country was so prosperous that, as in 1837, many new enterprises were started. Railroads were built faster than they were needed; and the earnings in many cases were not enough to pay expenses, much less dividends. Soon a very large number of railroad shares were thrown upon the market for sale, resulting in a panic, which affected business generally. The number of mercantile failures in the country was very great.

Panic of
1857.

As early as 1846 a telegraphic message had been sent under the Hudson River, by means of a wire covered with gutta-percha. This had proved that it was practicable to send messages under water, and soon cables of moderate length were laid on the beds of rivers and under narrow bodies of water. Cyrus W. Field, a wealthy merchant of New York, became interested in a project to lay a telegraphic line across the Atlantic Ocean.

Ocean
telegraph.

A company of English and Americans was formed, and soundings were made in the ocean to discover the nature of the bottom. It was found that between Newfoundland and Ireland the depth did not exceed two and one-half miles, while the bottom was nearly level. This has since

been called the Telegraphic Plateau. After many experiments and efforts a line was successfully laid in 1858, but, after a few messages had been sent back and forth, it refused to work; the practicability of an ocean telegraph had been demonstrated, however, though it was not until 1866 that a thoroughly successful cable was laid (sect. 364).

Gold in
Colorado.

291. **Gold; Silver; Oil Fields.** (1858-1859.) — Little had been known of the mineral resources of the country between Kansas and the Rocky Mountains, but in 1858 gold was discovered in Colorado; and in the same year the



DENVER IN 1858.

From a sketch.

Silver in
Nevada.

famous Comstock lode at Virginia City, Nevada, was found, one of the richest silver deposits in the world. Mines of gold and silver, and of other valuable minerals, including coal, were discovered in different parts of the West, showing it to be a region rich in mineral wealth.

Oil fields of
Pennsylvania.

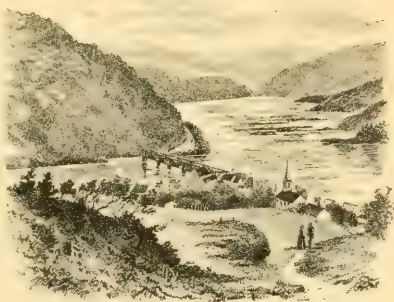
In 1859, some men who were digging a well near Titusville, in western Pennsylvania, struck a deposit of coal-oil or petroleum, and the "oil fields" of Pennsylvania and of other states soon brought vast wealth to their owners. The oil itself nearly displaced the animal oils hitherto used for illumination, and became an article of great commercial

importance. The products manufactured out of the crude oil are almost innumerable; they include dyes, medicines, and materials used in almost all the arts, and the list is continually increasing.

292. John Brown. (1859.)— In the autumn of 1859 the whole country, but especially the South, was startled by what seemed to be an attempt to incite the slaves to an insurrection.

John
Brown,
1859.

John Brown, of Ossawatimie, Kansas, had been prominent in the Kansas war, and was filled with a desire to liberate the slaves of the South. Supposing that an opportunity and a leader were all that was needed to arouse them, he, with a force of less than twenty-five men, seized the United States arsenal at Harper's Ferry, on the Potomac, in Virginia. Of course he was soon overpow-



HARPER'S FERRY IN 1859.

ered, and several of his followers, including two of his sons, were killed. He himself, badly wounded, was taken prisoner with most of his little band.

John Brown was tried by the Virginia courts, condemned, and executed. In the South this attempt was regarded as a proof that many in the free states wished to incite insurrections among the slaves; while, in the North, surprise was mingled with pity and admiration for the self-sacrificing courage of the man, though the majority wholly disapproved of his action, and looked upon him as a fanatic.

293. Presidential Nominations. (1860.)— The great

Presidential
nominations,
1860.

Democratic party was now confronted with the question of slavery in a way that could not be ignored. In 1860, at the convention for nominating a candidate for President, after a discussion that showed irreconcilable differences, the delegates separated; the two portions, each holding a new convention, nominated each its own candidates. One division supported Stephen A. Douglas of Illinois, and Herschel V. Johnson of Georgia, and popular sovereignty; while the other division, holding pro-slavery views, nominated John C. Breckinridge of Kentucky and Joseph Lane of Oregon.

The American party, the remnant of the old Whigs, and some Democrats, calling themselves the Constitutional Union party, nominated John Bell of Tennessee, and Edward Everett of Massachusetts, adopting as their platform the indefinite declaration, "The Constitution of the country, the union of the states, and the enforcement of the laws."

The Republicans nominated Abraham Lincoln of Illinois, and Hannibal Hamlin of Maine (sect. 299).

Thus there were four tickets in the field; probably there never was a time when the actual political feelings of the country were better represented by party candidates.

Political
"platforms,"
1860.

The Douglas platform said that "squatter sovereignty" and the Supreme Court must settle the slavery question. The Breckinridge platform said that "Slavery must be taken into the territories and protected there." The Union party evaded the question of slavery altogether. The Republican platform said that slavery must be kept out of the territories, whatever else might happen.

The division of their opponents gave a good majority of the electoral votes to the Republican candidates, who received also the largest popular vote, and carried every

free state except New Jersey, where three electoral votes were cast for Douglas.

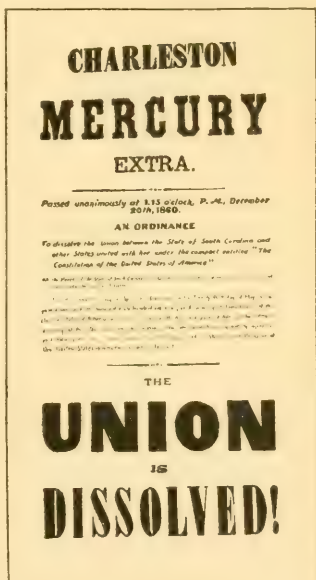
294. Secession. (1860-1861.)—For the first time a distinctly antislavery party had elected a President, and though the new Congress had not a Republican majority in either house, the southern leaders thought the time had come to resort to separation. Had the question of secession been submitted to a popular vote, in 1860, all the southern states, except South Carolina, would probably have given a negative answer.

The Legislature of South Carolina, which still cast the electoral vote of the state, remained in session until Lincoln's election was assured, and then, calling a convention, adjourned. The convention soon met, and on December 20, 1860, passed an ordinance of secession. This document declared "that the union now subsisting between South Carolina and other states, under the name of the 'United

States of America,' is hereby dissolved." The governor of the state issued a proclamation announcing the fact; preparations were at once made to provide for an independent government, and messengers were sent to the other slave states to persuade them to follow the example of South Carolina.

Within about six weeks Mississippi, Florida, Alabama,

Secession.



A CHARLESTON BROADSIDE.

South Carolina secedes,
December 20, 1860.

Georgia, and Louisiana had held conventions and passed secession ordinances. The remaining slave states declined to follow at once, desiring to wait further developments.

Confederate
States of
America.

295. Confederate States of America. (1861.) — Delegates from the states named, appointed by the conventions, met February 4, 1861, at Montgomery, Alabama, and organized a government under the name of "The Confederate States of America." A provisional constitution was adopted February 8, and the next day the Congress elected for one year Jefferson Davis of Mississippi provisional President, and Alexander H. Stephens of Georgia Vice-president, each state having one vote. A permanent constitution was adopted by the Congress March 11, and was ratified by the conventions of the states to which it was referred. On February 23, Texas had joined the ranks of the secessionists, and now became a member of the Confederacy.

Constitution
of the
Confederate
States.

The constitution was that of the United States, modified or changed where it seemed necessary. The words "Confederate States" and "Confederacy" were substituted for "United States" and "Union" wherever the latter phrases occurred. Among the changes were the distinct assertion of "the sovereign and independent character" of each state;¹ the introduction of the word "slave"; the prohibition of protective tariffs, and of appropriations of public money for internal improvements; the permission granted to the President to veto items in appropriation bills, and to the Congress to allow each member of the Cabinet a seat upon the floor of either house "with the privilege of discussing any measure appertaining to his department." The term of the President was made six years, and he was restricted to one term.

¹ Notwithstanding this, the constitution provided for "a permanent federal government."

296. Confederate Government; State Sovereignty. — The government never was completely established, as no Supreme Court was organized. The sessions of the Congress were generally held in secret, and it did little but register the will of the executive branch of the government; the war powers granted to the executive, or exercised by it, overrode everything else. Confederate government.

In the conduct of the early secession movement there seems to have been an endeavor to copy the action of the colonies at the time of the Declaration of Independence. Everything was referred to conventions, and it was only after the war had begun that measures were referred to a popular vote.

So fully was the doctrine of state sovereignty held in the South that as soon as a state had seceded, even though the method may not have been approved, the citizens as a whole went with the state. Many who had spoken strongly against secession, chiefly on the ground of its being inexpedient, afterward supported the act in legislative assemblies and on the battle-field. State sovereignty.

297. Buchanan; Peace Conference. (1861.) — Meanwhile the United States Congress had met, and President Buchanan sent in his message, taking ground somewhat similar to that which Andrew Jackson had taken thirty years before.

But while denying the right of secession, Buchanan apparently doubted whether the United States had the legal power to coerce a state, and he refused to assume the responsibility of even attempting to take any such measure while Congress was in session. Buchanan's position.

It was natural that men's thoughts should be turned back to other crises in the history of the country, and that an effort to compromise should be tried. A peace con-

Peace conference,
1861.

ference was called by Virginia to meet at Washington, and was attended by delegates from twenty-one states; but the proposed amendments to the Constitution were unsatisfactory, and the conference did little more than show that even the moderate men of the country could not agree on a compromise.

Inaction at
the North.

298. Inaction at the North; Fort Sumter. (1861.)—Buchanan's Cabinet was composed in part of southern men, and was divided in sentiment; some members sympathized with the South, and some did not believe in coercion. The result was inaction when the times called loudly for prompt and vigorous measures. This halting and vacillating conduct of the government was of great advantage to the southern leaders.

As soon as a state had passed an ordinance of secession its senators and representatives in the United States Congress withdrew, generally taking leave of Congress in a speech. All this time the government was doing little or nothing to prepare for a conflict, while the southern states were seizing the United States stores of military supplies, drilling militia, and making every preparation for armed resistance.

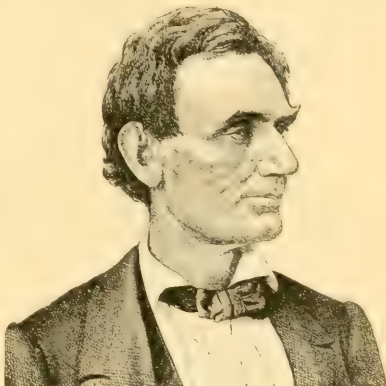
Fort Sumter.

Fort Moultrie, in the harbor of Charleston, South Carolina, was garrisoned by a small body of troops under the command of Major Robert Anderson. Anticipating an attack by the state troops, he determined to remove his little force to Fort Sumter in the harbor, which though unfinished, seemed to offer a better chance of defence.

On the evening of December 26, 1860, he transferred his troops and supplies. These latter were scanty even for the few men that he had. At length President Buchanan sent a merchant steamer, the *Star of the West*, to Charleston with supplies for the garrison, but a battery which the

state authorities had thrown up on Morris Island fired upon her, and she returned without landing her supplies.

299. Inauguration of Lincoln. (1861.) — Before March, 1861, all the forts belonging to the United States in the seceded states, except Sumter in South Carolina, Pickens at Pensacola, Florida, and the defences at Key West, had been surrendered to the state authorities. Seven states had declared themselves out of the Union, and it was believed if any force were used to compel them to return to the Union the remaining slave states also would secede. The views of the people of the free states were unknown, though it was believed that many would be unwilling that an appeal should be made to force. Such was the condition of the country when the time for the inauguration of Lincoln drew near.



ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Condition of
the country,
March,
1861.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN, President 1861-1865, was born in Hardin County, Kentucky, February 12, 1809, and died April 15, 1865. Recent investigations show that his family was of good New England stock. His father moved to Indiana in 1816, and in 1830 to Illinois. Abraham Lincoln's early life was the hard, rough-and-tumble life of a frontier settler. He learned to chop wood and split rails, to help his father in carpentry, and in all kinds of farm work. He said of himself he went to school "by littles," and "in all it did not amount to more than a year." But he read every book and newspaper that he could get hold of, and everything he read he made his own. Whatever he undertook he mastered. He was a storekeeper, a postmaster, and a land surveyor; later he studied law, was elected to the Legislature, and was representative in Congress 1847-1849 (sect. 259). He was candidate for United States Senator in 1858, but was defeated by Stephen A. Douglas, with whom he had travelled through the state debating political questions. His kindly nature, great ability, and broad statesmanship gained for him the affection and confidence of the people to a degree unequalled except in the case of Washington.

The prospect was very discouraging. Some of Lincoln's friends, who feared the risk of a public journey, persuaded

him to travel secretly the last part of the way to Washington. He was inaugurated on the 4th of March, a large body of troops being present by arrangement of General Scott.

Inauguration of Lincoln, 1861.

Lincoln's inaugural address was conciliatory and far removed from anything like abolitionism. The situation of the new administration was difficult in the extreme; many of the office-holders were in sympathy with the secessionists, and it was almost impossible to know in whom to trust. The President, while conciliatory, soon made it clear that his administration would not be lacking in firmness.



W. H. SEWARD.

WILLIAM H. SEWARD was born in New York, May 10, 1801. He studied law. He was elected governor, 1838, and was sent to the United States Senate, 1849. He was a leading antislavery Whig and was one of the founders of the Republican party. He was a candidate for the Presidency in 1860, but Lincoln obtained the nomination. He was Secretary of State, 1861-1869, and showed great ability in his conduct of affairs. He died at Auburn, New York, October 10, 1872.

300. Sumter fired upon. (April 12, 1861.) — Shortly after the inauguration, the Secretary of State, William H. Seward, refused to recognize a delegation sent from the Confederate Congress at Montgomery, to treat for an amicable separation. On the 8th of April President Lin-

coln's official notification that Fort Sumter would be provisioned by force, if necessary, reached the governor of South Carolina, orders having been given to send a fleet thither. Before the fleet could reach its destination, the Confederates had opened fire upon Fort Sumter, April 12, by the batteries which had been built along the shores of

Fort Sumter fired upon April 12, 1861.

Charleston harbor, and to this Major Anderson had replied. After a steady fire had been kept up for more than twenty-four hours, Major Anderson, having exhausted his ammunition and the barracks being on fire, surrendered, receiving the honors of war. Afterward with his troops he sailed to New York. No one was killed on either side during the bombardment.

Bombardment of Fort Sumter.

Anderson surrenders.

SUMMARY.

Anti-Nebraska men take the name of Republicans. Charles Sumner was assaulted in the Senate chamber for his words against a southern senator. James Buchanan was in 1856 elected President by the Democrats. The Republicans carried eleven of the fifteen free states. The "Dred Scott Case" caused great indignation in the North. A severe commercial crisis occurred in 1857. An ocean telegraph cable was laid in 1858, but it soon ceased working. The silver mines of Nevada were developed in 1858, and the oil fields of Pennsylvania in 1859. An attempted insurrection of the slaves organized by John Brown, begun by him in 1859, was the occasion of much excitement. Brown was captured and executed.

The Presidential campaign of 1860 was an exciting one. Abraham Lincoln, nominated by the Republicans, was successful. South Carolina seceded in December, 1860, and was soon followed by Mississippi, Florida, Alabama, Georgia, and Texas. The Confederate States of America were set up February, 1861. Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens were chosen President and Vice-President respectively. Efforts for a peaceful solution of the difficulties were unsuccessful. Lincoln was inaugurated March 4, 1861. Fort Sumter in Charleston harbor was fired upon April 12, 1861. It was surrendered.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xlv.

CHAPTER XV.

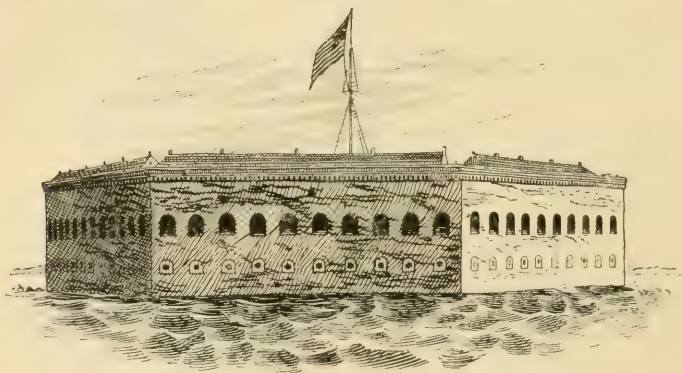
CIVIL WAR.

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A. B. Hart, *Source-Book*, Chap. xviii.; J. D. Champlin, *Young Folks' History of the War for the Union*; H. C. Wright, *Children's Stories of American Progress*, Chap. xvii.

Effect of the
fall of
Sumter.

301. Effect of the Fall of Fort Sumter; Baltimore.
(1861.) — The effect of the fall of Fort Sumter was mar-



FORT SUMTER BEFORE THE BOMBARDMENT.

vellous. Up to this time few in the North had believed that the South was in earnest; most persons had thought that the questions were political, and, like similar ones in the past, that they would in some way be peacefully settled. Others, like Horace Greeley of the *New York Tribune*, had said that if the South wished to go she should be allowed to go in peace. Except for the few who

sympathized wholly with the South, the news of the fall of Sumter seemed to unite the people of the free states.

When President Lincoln, on April 15, two days after the surrender, issued his call for seventy-five thousand volunteers, "to maintain the honor, the integrity, and the existence of our national union," the answer was prompt. More men than were called for volunteered by thousands, and provisions, money, arms, and supplies of all kinds were tendered by states and by individuals.

Lincoln
calls for
volunteers.

The first care of the Federal government was to provide for the safety of the city of Washington, for there was a strong probability that Virginia would secede. What course the state of Maryland would pursue was uncertain; for though the politicians and the people of the southern counties were in sympathy with the South, the majority of the people of the state disapproved of secession. At the time, however, the true condition of affairs was difficult to ascertain, and it was due to the promptness of the national government, and the skill of the governor, supported by a few able and prominent men, that the state did not secede.

Position of
Virginia and
Maryland.

As the Sixth Massachusetts regiment was passing through the city of Baltimore, on the 19th of April, it was attacked by a mob, and several of the soldiers were killed. This was the first blood shed in the strife. For a few days the troops avoided Baltimore by going down Chesapeake Bay, landing at Annapolis, and proceeding thence to Washington. Direct communication was, however, soon resumed, and there was no more trouble with Maryland.

Attack on
Massachu-
setts troops
in Baltimore,
April 19,
1861.

302. Effect of the Fall of Sumter in the South and in the Border States. (1861.)—The fall of Sumter united the North; it had a similar effect on the South. Many who thought secession inexpedient rushed to the defence of their states as soon as coercion was begun, and the call

The fall of
Sumter and
the South.

for troops by the Confederate government was answered with as great enthusiasm as that which responded to the call of Lincoln in the North.

Secession of
North
Carolina,
Tennessee,
and Virginia.



JEFFERSON DAVIS.

JEFFERSON DAVIS was born in Kentucky, June 3, 1808. He graduated at West Point in 1828. He served in the Black Hawk War, 1831-1832, and on other frontier duty. He removed to Mississippi, and was sent to Congress. He resigned to join the army in the Mexican War, where he acquitted himself with great credit. He was senator from Mississippi, 1847-1853, and Secretary of War, 1853-1857, when he was again chosen senator. He resigned January 21, 1861, and was chosen provisional President of the Confederate States, February 9, 1861, and President for six years, November 21, 1861. He was taken prisoner in May, 1865, and confined in Fortress Monroe for two years, when he was released on bail, but was never brought to trial. He died in New Orleans, December 6, 1889.

Blockade of
the southern
ports.

Upon the call of the United States government for troops "to put down the rebellion," North Carolina, Tennessee, Arkansas, and Virginia joined the Confederacy. Kentucky, Maryland, and Missouri, though containing many secessionists, remained in the Union, while in Delaware there was little or no sympathy with secession.¹

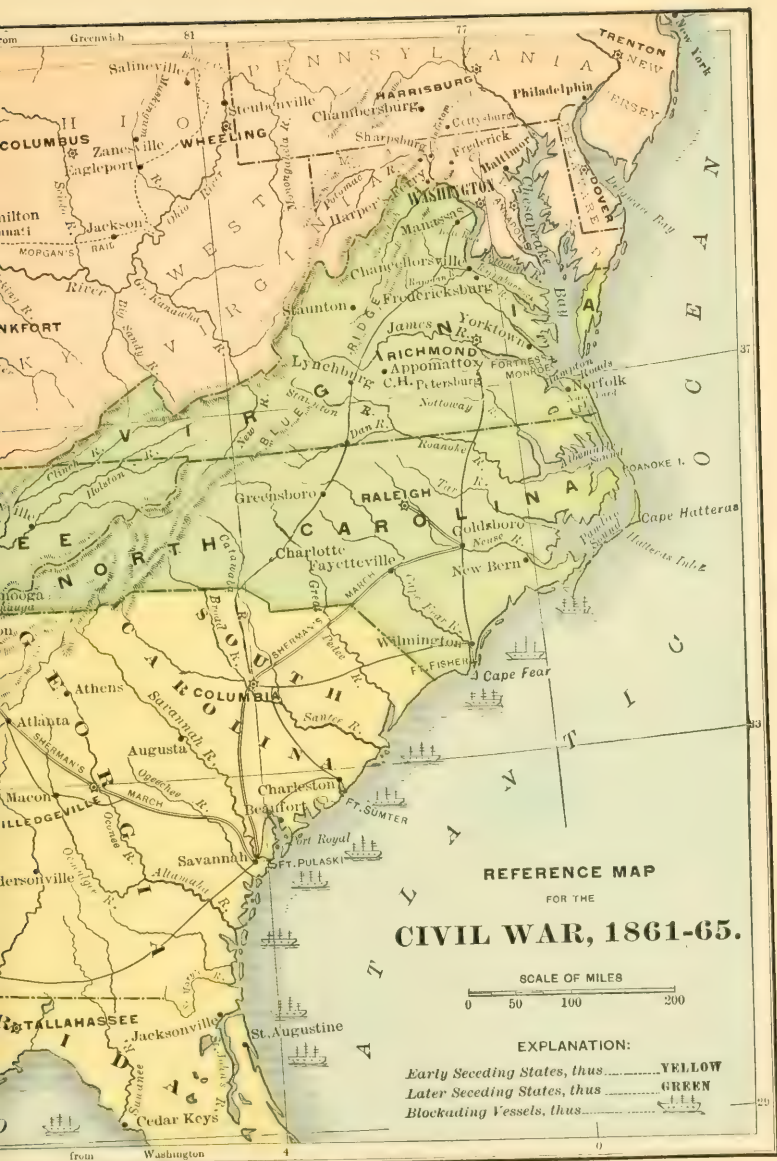
303. The Blockade. (1861.)—Jefferson Davis, the President of the Confederacy, replied to Lincoln's call for troops and proclamation of April 15 by a proclamation on the 17th offering "letters of marque and reprisal" against the United States. Lincoln, on the 19th, proclaimed a partial, and on the 23d, a general, blockade of southern ports.

As the South had few manufactures, she was largely

¹ The states seceded in the following order: Arkansas, May 6; North Carolina, May 20; Virginia, May 23; Tennessee, June 8. In no case was the action ratified by a free, popular vote. Both Virginia and Tennessee were in the possession of the Confederate troops when the vote was taken in those states, and no vote was taken in the others.

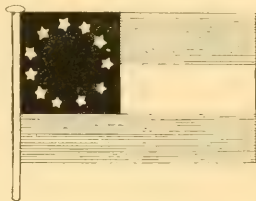






dependent upon foreign markets for supplies. In order to pay for these it was necessary to export cotton or tobacco, almost the only articles she produced which were wanted in Europe. The importance to the United States of maintaining the blockade will readily be seen. The Confederate States, assuming the position of an independent power, formally declared war against the United States in April.

Importance
of the
blockade.



THE CONFEDERATE FLAG.

304. The Two Sections Compared. (1861.) — It will be well to review briefly the condition of the whole country, and to compare the two sections now arrayed against each other. By the census of 1860 the population of the United States was found to have increased more than one-third over that of 1850. In material interests, railroads showed the most striking increase, there being a total of about 30,000 miles against 7500 in 1850. In shipping, every country except Great Britain was surpassed, while in agriculture the United States was first; the cotton crop alone being estimated at five million bales of 400 pounds each. Manufactures were daily increasing and the country as a whole was a hive of industry.

The North
and South
compared,
1861.

The increase in population and in wealth had been very largely in the free states. In these there was a variety of interests, such as farming, manufactures, fishing, transportation, and commerce. In the slave states, the cultivation of cotton and tobacco was followed, often to the exclusion of other crops. As a result, the South had depended on the North for many kinds of supplies; even the cotton and tobacco of the South had been exported in ships belonging to the North. Yet many of the southern leaders believed

that even if the North could do without cotton, England and the continental nations would insist upon having it, and so would interfere in case of any war between the North and the South.

Minnesota
admitted,
1858; Ore-
gon, 1859.

305. Comparison of the Sections continued. (1861.)—Minnesota and Oregon had been admitted into the Union as free states, and Kansas was ready to come in at any moment. The control of the Senate had been hopelessly lost to the slave states. The population of the free states was 19,128,418; of the slave states, 12,315,372, but a large part of this population was in the border states (Appendix VI.). South of the border states there was no large city except New Orleans. Except in Maryland and Delaware the number of manufacturing establishments in the South was insignificant. The statistics of wealth showed that by far the greater part of the capital of the country was held in the free states.

North and
South mis-
understand
each other.

Each section underestimated the patriotism, the endurance, the bravery, and the intelligence of the other. The South thought that the North was absorbed in money-getting, and would sacrifice anything rather than lose its dollars; and that if the men of the North did fight, the Southerners would be more than a match for them; it was also thought that very many in the North sympathized with the South.

On the other hand, the North thought the South meant only to bluster and threaten. Notwithstanding all the lessons of past years, northern men did not comprehend how firmly the doctrine of state sovereignty was fixed in southern hearts, nor did they appreciate the deep affection Southerners felt for their native states, which would make even the large class of non-slaveholders resent any invasion of their soil.

306. The Territory and Advantages of the South. (1861.)

—Few in the North or South anticipated the magnitude of the impending struggle, or understood clearly the principles involved. The seceded states stretched from the Atlantic to the extreme western point of Texas, and from the Gulf of Mexico nearly to the line of $36^{\circ} 30'$, to which must be added the greater part of Virginia. Their territory comprised about 800,000 square miles, with a population of nearly 9,000,000, including 3,500,000 slaves; their northern line was more than 2000 miles, and their coast-line more than 3000 miles in length. It was indeed a vast territory and a large population, but the resources of the North were far greater; and if other nations did not interfere, everything favored northern success.

Territory
and advantages of the
South.

In some respects the people of the South had the advantage. Acting on the defensive, they needed fewer men; while the North had not only to attack, but also to hold the places which might be taken. Many of the ablest officers of the United States army in 1860 were southern men. Such were Generals Robert E. Lee, Joseph E. Johnston, and P. G. T. Beauregard. Almost all the officers of any note in the southern army had been educated at West Point. When their states seceded they resigned their commissions in the United States army and joined the southern forces. A large part of the military supplies in the country was stored in southern forts.

The South
on the
defensive.

Able southern
officers.

Again, the South could send all her best fighting men to the front, as she had slaves to work on the plantations, and to perform the manual labor required in the country. Several of these advantages were only temporary, but they gave the South a good start. On the other hand, the South had no navy,—a most serious lack,—neither had she merchant vessels which could be pressed into service,

South had
no navy.

nor mechanics or shipyards for the rapid construction of vessels. The North, possessing in these respects what the South lacked, was able almost immediately to establish a blockade of the southern ports, to the very great disadvantage of the South.

"On to
Richmond."

307. "On to Richmond"; Bull Run. (1861.)—Three days before the people of Virginia were to vote upon the question of secession, the capital of the Confederate States was moved from Montgomery, Alabama, to Richmond, Virginia. Immediately the cry in the North was "On to Richmond." General Winfield Scott, who was in command of the United States army, was opposed to any forward movement with raw troops, especially with men who had enlisted for only three months. But the cry of the newspapers and the people at large could not be wholly ignored, and preparations were made for an advance toward Richmond.

Confederate
lines.

Confederate troops had been stationed at various points on a line from Fortress Monroe on Chesapeake Bay, along the Potomac River to Harper's Ferry. They held also the northern border of Tennessee and Kentucky and part of Missouri. The Confederates had fortified many places on the Mississippi River as well as points on the Cumberland and Tennessee rivers, and were building forts and defences of every kind along the coast.

The success of United States troops in the early campaign of West Virginia gave an undue confidence to the northern people; even Secretary Seward said that the war would be ended in ninety days.

Bull Run.
July 21, 1861.

The result of the pressure to advance was the first battle of Bull Run, known in the South as Manassas, fought about thirty miles southwest of Washington. Contrary to the general opinion at the time, it appears to

have been on the part of the Federals a well-planned, well-executed battle, until the arrival of reinforcements for the Confederates at a moment opportune for their cause gave them the day, when the Union defeat soon became a rout.

So severely had the victors suffered that they did not attempt to follow up their advantage. Johnston, the Confederate general, said, "The Confederate army was more disorganized by victory than the United States by defeat."

308. Importance of Bull Run. (1861.)—The importance of the battle of Bull Run was threefold: first, in its effect upon the North; second, on the South; and third, in its effect upon Europe. The men at the North, at first surprised and then dismayed, recognized that the conflict was to be no child's play, or even a "ninety days' campaign," and prepared with dogged earnestness for "three years or the war"; the Confederates became overconfident. The European governments were led to believe that the battle indicated superiority in the generalship and fighting qualities of the Confederates, and that ultimate victory would be with them. The consequence was that, with the exception of Russia, the European governments, as far as was practicable with a professed neutrality, directly and indirectly favored the South. This was specially the case with England and France.

Importance
of Bull Run.

300. McClellan; Army of the Potomac; the West. (1861.)—George B. McClellan, who had gained prominence in the campaign in western Virginia, was called to Washington with the concurrence of General Scott, to command what had become the "Army of the Potomac."

McClellan.

General McClellan had been educated at West Point, had seen service in the Mexican War, but above all had been successful in Virginia, so "Little Mac, the soldiers'

pride" was believed by the northern army and people to be the one man who could bring success to the Union cause.

McClellan
organizes
the "Army
of the
Potomac."

For the next eight or nine months McClellan did little else than drill and organize armies; the South did likewise, and for the rest of the year no general engagement took place near Washington. In the West, under Generals Lyon, Fremont, and Halleck, the Confederate forces were gradually driven out of Missouri, and the state saved to the Union.

Northern
plans, 1861.

310. Northern Plans for the Campaign. (1861.)—It was clear to President Lincoln and his advisers that in order to insure success it would be necessary (1) to hold the line of the Potomac, and if possible, take Richmond; (2) to open the Mississippi to the sea, thus dividing the Confederacy; and (3) to maintain a close blockade of the seaports, thus cutting off from the South any supplies from abroad.

The block-
ade.

The United States cruisers had done what they could to make effective the blockade proclaimed by President Lincoln, but they were frequently driven off by stress of weather, and vessels meanwhile would steal in and out. If it were possible to capture some of the ports, it would make the blockade much more effective and less difficult.

On the coast from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, the United States held only two forts: Fortress Monroe at the mouth of the James, and Fort Pickens, near Pensacola, Florida. Fort Pickens was retained by a stratagem similar to that of Major Anderson at Fort Sumter, and had resisted all attacks.

Union expe-
dition to
Hatteras
Inlet.

In the summer of 1861 a Union naval expedition was fitted out, which took Hatteras Inlet and the forts defending it. Later, another expedition took Port Royal,

South Carolina, a number of the islands on the coast, and an island near the mouth of the Mississippi. These places became depots of supplies for the Union fleets, and bases from which to make attacks, besides materially lessening the opportunities for running the blockade.

311. Election of Davis and Stephens ; Mason and Slidell. (1861.) — At an election held in the South, November 6, 1861, Davis and Stephens were elected President and Vice-President by a unanimous electoral vote.

One of the most important incidents of the whole struggle took place during the fall of this year (1861). It was essential for the success of the Confederacy that the government should obtain supplies from abroad, and in order to do this, the recognition of the Confederacy as an independent nation by European governments would be of incalculable assistance. Accordingly two envoys were sent to Europe. Running the blockade, they reached Cuba, and there took passage for England in the British steamer *Trent*.

On November 8, Captain Charles Wilkes, commanding the United States steamer *San Jacinto*, stopped the *Trent* near the Bahamas, and seized the Confederate envoys, James M. Mason and John Slidell, with their two secretaries and brought them to Boston, where they were confined in Fort Warren. On receipt of this news both England and the United States were thrown into great excitement. Great Britain sent war supplies and troops to Canada, and in very blunt language demanded the return of the commissioners and a suitable apology for the offence.

In the United States the act of Captain Wilkes was loudly applauded, the House of Representatives passed a resolution declaring that the thanks of the Congress were due to him, and that he deserved a gold medal for his conduct.

Fort Royal
taken.

Davis and
Stephens
elected.

Confederate
envoys to
Europe.
1861.

Mason and
Slidell seized
by Captain
Wilkes.
1861.

Wilkes
applauded

For a short time it seemed as if war between England and the United States was inevitable. But the United States had always opposed this right of search, and not to return the prisoners would be to reverse the whole previous policy of the government and to disavow its most cherished principles. The prisoners were accordingly given up to the British government. Secretary Seward laid the responsibility upon Captain Wilkes who had acted without instructions. The people of the North felt that England had been unnecessarily firm, and much hard feeling was the result.¹

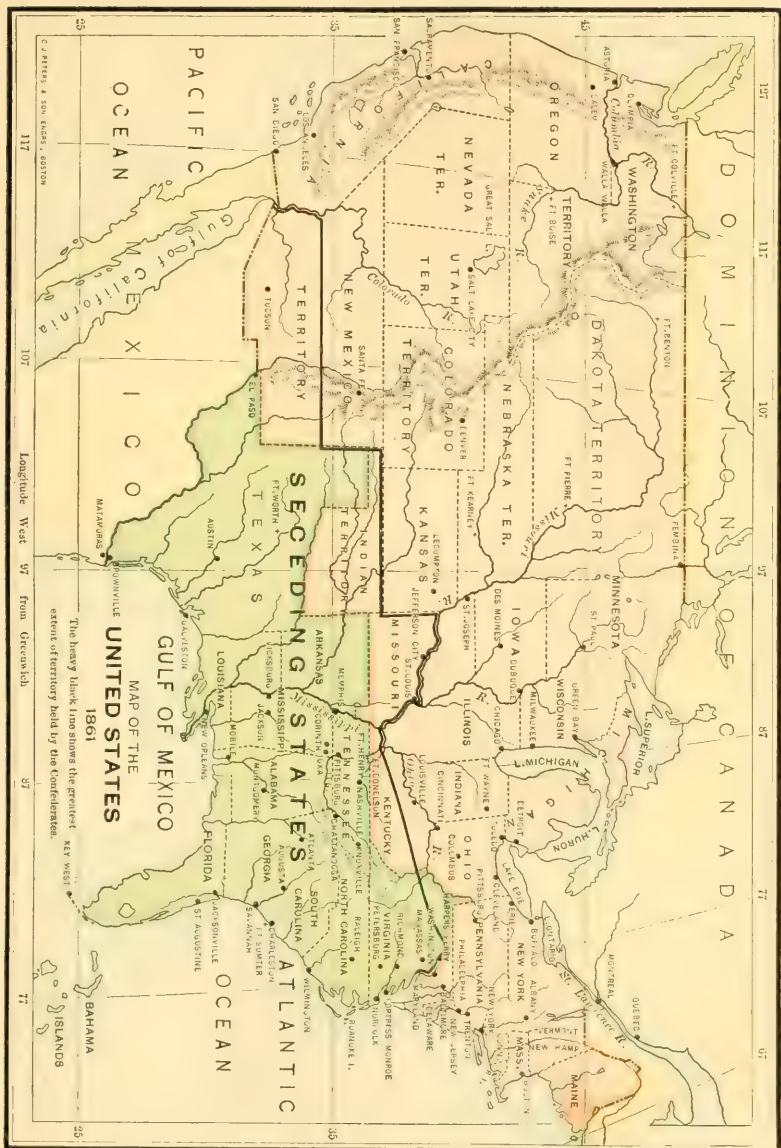
Mason and
Slidell
given up.

Condition
of affairs in
the Confed-
erate States,
1862.

312. Condition of Affairs in the South and in the North. (January, 1862.) — By the close of the year it was evident that the struggle would be long and severe. While the Confederates had been generally successful in actual conflict, their operations had been little more than defensive. They had failed to secure the accession of Maryland, Kentucky, or Missouri, or to gain any permanent foothold north of the Potomac, or seriously to threaten the city of Washington.

Though recognized as belligerents, their government had not been acknowledged by the European powers. Their whole coast had been fairly well blockaded, and at least three important points on it had been captured. All along their northern border large armies of Federal troops, inexperienced, indeed, but daily increasing in efficiency, were ready to resist invasion, and were threatening an attack as soon as they were sufficiently drilled. Without commerce, and almost without manufactures, the South was not in a good condition to sustain a long war. Skilful

¹ Captain Wilkes had been the commander of the well-known exploring expedition which had been sent out by the United States in 1838 to visit the southern seas and Antarctic Ocean.



officers, a brave army, and a united people are not the only essentials to success.

On the other hand, the Union states were having little experience of actual warfare. Everything with them was going on much as usual; commerce and manufactures were perhaps even more active than formerly. A large army and navy had been raised without much difficulty. The South was almost surrounded by fleets and armies, and the North, instead of being disheartened by the want of success in the field, was only nerving itself for greater efforts and profiting by its mistakes.

The Congress at Washington, in which the war party now had an overwhelming majority, voted men and money without hesitation, and passed acts approving and legalizing the orders of President Lincoln issued since March 4. In the border states the writ of *habeas corpus* had been suspended, and arrests of men suspected of aiding and abetting the Confederacy were frequent. Distasteful as this was to very many, it was believed to be a military necessity, for the South had many friends in the North who did their best to send supplies and information across the lines. Many southern sympathizers were in Washington City, and some of the government employees furnished information of great value to the southern cause.

313. Permanent Confederate Government; Fighting in the West; General Grant. (1862.) — The new permanent Confederate government went into operation February 22, 1862, at Richmond, Virginia, which had been chosen as the capital of the new Confederacy. Jefferson Davis took the oath of office at the foot of the statue of Washington in the public square. The day was rainy and cheerless.

The first fighting of the year 1862 was in the West. The Confederates had built two forts in northern Ten-

Condition of
affairs in the
North, 1862.

Writ of
habeas
corpus sus-
pended in
the border
states.

Richmond,
Virginia, the
Confederate
capital,
1862.

Fort Henry
and Fort
Donelson.

nessee to protect that state from invasion: Fort Henry on the Tennessee, and Fort Donelson on the Cumberland River. To reduce these places, General Ulysses S. Grant (sect. 368), who had already shown military ability, was to coöperate with Commodore A. H. Foote, who was to ascend the river with a fleet of gunboats.

The forts
surrender,
1861.

Before Grant could reach Fort Henry it had surrendered to the gunboats, and the combined forces proceeded against Fort Donelson. After three days' fighting the commander asked what terms would be given, to which Grant replied:

*No terms except an unconditional and
immediate surrender can be accepted.*

*I propose to move immediately upon
your works.*

*I am sir, very respectfully,
your obt. servt.
U. S. Grant
Brig. Gen.*

GENERAL GRANT'S "UNCONDITIONAL SURRENDER" REPLY.

"No terms except an unconditional and immediate surrender can be accepted. I propose to move immediately upon your works." The fort was surrendered, and about fifteen thousand prisoners and a large quantity of arms fell into the hands of the Union army. This was the first great victory on the Union side, and an important one, for with that of General Thomas near Mill Springs, it compelled the Confederates to abandon Kentucky, and to leave a large part of Tennessee in the control of the Union forces.

Two months later, April 6, Grant was attacked at Pittsburg Landing, or Shiloh, on the Tennessee, by General Albert Sidney Johnston; there was a severe two days' fight, and but for the arrival of General Buell with reinforcements, Grant might have been defeated. The Confederates retired with the loss of their general, while over ten thousand men were killed, wounded, and missing. On the Union side the losses were even greater, and no attempt was made at an immediate pursuit. It was a dearly bought victory. On April 7, Island No. 10 on the Mississippi surrendered to Commodore Foote; the river was now open to the United States forces as far as Fort Pillow.¹

Pittsburg
Landing,
April 6,
1862.

Island No.
10 surren-
ders.

314. Monitor and Merrimac; Farragut takes New Orleans. (1862.)—So far it was only in the West that the advantage had been decidedly in the favor of the Union forces. The navy-yard at Norfolk, Virginia, had been captured by the Confederates. The frigate *Merrimac*, which had been taken by them, was converted into an ironclad ship fitted with a beak to run into an enemy's vessel. Ironclads were not new, but they had never been tried in actual warfare.

The *Merrimac*, or *Virginia*, as she was now called, being ready for trial, sailed out of Norfolk Harbor, March 8, 1862. In Hampton Roads, near by, were four or five of the best ships of war in the United States navy. The new sea-monster, for such she seemed to be, attacked these ships, and though they rained shot and shell on her, they could make no impression upon her iron sides. She ran into the *Cumberland* and sunk her. The others would have met a similar fate had not night come on, when the *Merrimac* returned to Norfolk. The news spread dismay

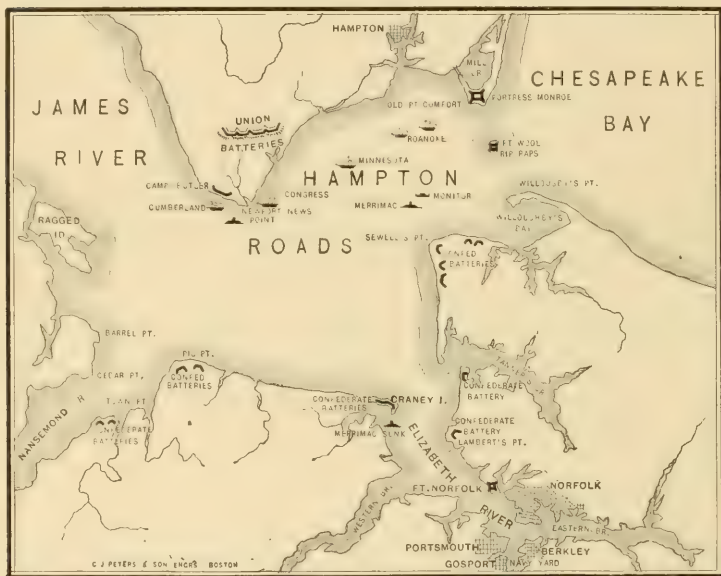
The
Merrimac
or *Virginia*,
at Hampton
Roads.

¹ The islands in the Mississippi, beginning at the mouth of the Ohio and going southward, were numbered 1, 2, 3, and so on.

in the North. There seemed nothing to prevent the terrible vessel from going to Baltimore, or any of the northern seaports, which would be utterly at her mercy.

The
Monitor.

About two hours after the *Merrimac* had left Hampton Roads for the night, a strange little craft, named the *Mon-*



MAP OF HAMPTON ROADS, VIRGINIA.

itor, arrived from New York. She had been built from the design of John Ericsson, the inventor of the steam propeller (sect. 234). She seemed altogether unable to cope with so formidable an antagonist as the *Merrimac*, but the next day when the *Merrimac* came out from Norfolk the *Monitor* was ready to meet her. After a fight of four hours, the *Merrimac* retired to Norfolk, and did no more damage.¹

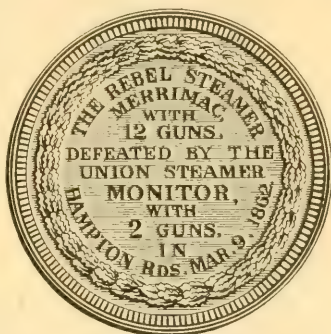
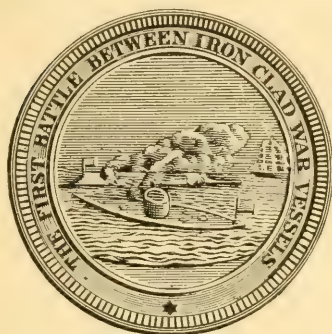
The *Moni-*
tor and the
Merrimac,
March 9,
1862.

¹ The *Merrimac* was destroyed by the Confederates when they abandoned Norfolk later in the war.

This short conflict brought about a revolution in naval warfare the world over. It was seen that wooden vessels were helpless against ironclads, and every maritime nation began to build ironclads of one kind or another.

The United States as soon as possible added to its navy a number of monitors, as they were called. The joy of

Importance of the conflict between the *Monitor* and *Merrimac*.



MEDAL COMMEMORATING THE ACTION BETWEEN THE "MONITOR" AND THE "MERRIMAC."

From the Bostonian Society's Collection.

the North at the result of this engagement was proportional to its previous dismay.

In the spring of 1862 Union fleets on the southern coast had such success that all the good ports of the Atlantic, except Savannah, Charleston, and Wilmington, in North Carolina, were lost to the South. In February an expedition, commanded by General Benjamin F. Butler and Commodore David G. Farragut, sailed from Chesapeake Bay to take New Orleans.

Ports lost to the South, 1862.

Farragut, a native of Tennessee, was a resident of Virginia at the outbreak of the war, but refused to follow his state. He had entered the navy in 1812, and was therefore a veteran in the service. A week was spent in the vain

Farragut.

Farragut
takes New
Orleans
April 25,
1862.

General
Butler in
New
Orleans.

endeavor to capture the forts which had been erected to defend the approach to New Orleans by the river, then he determined to pass them. There was a desperate conflict, but he succeeded. Two days later (April 25) New Orleans



ROBERT E. LEE.

GENERAL ROBERT EDWARD LEE was born in Virginia, January 19, 1807. He was a son of General Henry Lee — the "Light Horse Harry" Lee of Revolutionary fame. He graduated from West Point in 1829. He served in the Mexican War, was superintendent of West Point, 1852-1855, and commanded the forces which captured John Brown at Harper's Ferry. He resigned his commission in the United States army when it was clear that Virginia would secede from the Union. He was given the command of the army of northern Virginia, June, 1862. By his remarkable military skill, particularly in defence, he did more than any other one man to strengthen the Confederacy. He became president of Washington and Lee University, Lexington, Virginia, in 1865, which office he held until his death, October 12, 1870.

McClellan
moves on
Richmond.

surrendered. It was not long before the forts below the city also surrendered. General Butler remained in charge of New Orleans, but the fleet went up the Mississippi, and soon the whole river, with the exception of Vicksburg and one or two other points, was open to the Union forces.

315. Peninsular Campaign ; General R. E. Lee. (1862.)—McClellan, meanwhile, had continued to drill and organize the Army of the Potomac. The authorities at Washington and the people at large had become quite tired of his inactivity and thought it high time for him to make a forward movement.

After much consultation and urging, McClellan moved his army down the Potomac, to approach Richmond from the southeast. McDowell

was left near Fredericksburg to protect Washington, and a force was stationed in the Shenandoah Valley under Banks. The Confederate army was commanded by Gen-

eral Joseph E. Johnston. McClellan moved his army to the mouth of the James River, and proceeded to attack Yorktown. It took a month to capture this place, and meanwhile Johnston was getting ready to repel an attack upon Richmond.

After taking Yorktown, McClellan pushed on and succeeded in getting within a few miles of Richmond. There

McClellan checked.

the Chickahominy, a small stream, but swollen by sudden rains, divided his forces. Johnston at once attacked the weaker division of McClellan's army, and though Johnston was wounded and forced to retire, he had succeeded in delaying its advance. Meanwhile, the Confederates under Jackson drove Banks down the Shenandoah Valley toward Washington, so frightening the authorities that McDowell was hastily recalled to defend the city.

The wounded Johnston was succeeded by General Robert E. Lee.

316. Failure to take Richmond; Bull Run; Antietam. (1862.) — Jackson having disposed of Banks, and McDowell being held back to protect

Washington, Lee, who had been joined by Jackson's forces attacked McClellan, and after seven days of almost con-



"STONEWALL" JACKSON.

THOMAS JONATHAN JACKSON was born in Virginia, 1824. He graduated from West Point in 1846. He served in the Mexican War, but resigned from the army and became an instructor in Washington and Lee University, Virginia. He was given a command in the Confederate army, and was very successful. At the first battle of Bull Run, he and his brigade stood, it was said, like a "stone wall," and from that time he was known as "Stonewall" Jackson. He was Lee's most trusted general. He was fired upon, through error, by his own men at Chancellorsville, and died a few days later, May 10, 1863. His character was almost Puritanic, and he was a thorough soldier.

Robert E. Lee takes command of Confederate army before Richmond.

"Seven days' battle."

McClellan
fails to take
Richmond.

tinuous fighting, forced him back to the James River. Here Lee was repulsed, but McClellan's attempt to take Richmond was a failure. Lee now determined to attack Pope, who commanded the Union forces near Washington. The armies met on the old field of Bull Run, and Pope was defeated. By September (1862) the two armies occupied about the same positions as early in the year. Lee and Jackson were as active and ready as McClellan was slow and cautious.

Second
battle of
Bull Run,
August 29,
30, 1862.

Lee invades
Maryland;
repulsed at
Antietam,
September
17, 1862.

The Confederates now thought it a good time to invade the North. Lee crossed the Potomac above Washington, took Frederick, Maryland, and prepared to move on Baltimore or Philadelphia. McClellan followed, forcing Lee to turn westward. Meantime, Harper's Ferry with eleven thousand men, besides stores, fell into the hands of the Confederates. The armies met at Antietam Creek, near Sharpsburg, Maryland, and after a severe battle (September 17), Lee retreated across the Potomac.¹ He had been much disappointed in meeting with so little sympathy in Maryland.

McClellan did not pursue the retreating army and in consequence of his inactivity not only in this instance, but also in earlier ones, he was removed from command, and assigned to no further active duty during the war.

Burnside
defeated at
Fredericks-
burg,
December
13, 1862.

317. Fredericksburg ; Murfreesboro. (1862.)—The command of the Army of the Potomac was now given to General Ambrose E. Burnside. If McClellan was over-cautious, Burnside was rash. Attempting to reach Richmond by the way of the Rappahannock and Fredericksburg, his army was driven back and defeated (December 13), with a terrible loss of life. With the appointment of General

¹ McClellan lost in this battle about 12,000, and Lee about 10,000.

Joseph Hooker, the unfortunate Army of the Potomac changed commanders again.

In the West the Union forces had been gradually advancing. Though the Confederates had made a few successful raids into Tennessee and Kentucky, the result of the year's campaign was decidedly against them. Braxton Bragg, the Confederate general, was defeated at Perryville, October 8. On the last day of the year 1862, a severe battle was fought at Murfreesboro, Tennessee, between Rosecrans, the Union general, and Bragg, resulting in the retreat of Bragg, after a heavy loss on both sides.

Fighting in
the West.

318. Slavery; "Contraband." (1861). — At the beginning of the war the United States government showed no disposition to interfere with slavery. President Lincoln in his inaugural said, quoting from one of his own campaign speeches: "I have no purpose, directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the states where it exists. I believe I have no lawful right to do so, and I have no inclination to do so."

Slavery.

In May, 1861, some fugitive slaves came into the camp of General Butler at Fortress Monroe. He refused to give them up to their owner, who was the commander of the Confederate forces near by, and who asked by a flag of truce that they should be returned to him under the fugitive slave law. Butler replied that slaves were contraband of war, as they could be used in working on fortifications and in other ways. This name of "Contraband" was applied to the ex-slaves for a long time.

"Contra-
bands."

319. Slavery; Emancipation Proclamation. (1861-1863.) — In August, 1861, General John C. Frémont, commanding in Missouri, issued a proclamation, declaring that all citizens who should take up arms against the United States, or assist its enemies, should have their property

Lincoln's
attitude
toward slav-
ery.

confiscated, and "their slaves, if any they have, are hereby declared free men." This order, so far as it related to the slaves, was annulled by President Lincoln.

In South Carolina, General Hunter, in May, 1861, in a military order, said: "Slavery and martial law in a free country are altogether incompatible. The persons in these three states, Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, heretofore held as slaves, are therefore declared forever free." He also mustered a regiment of negroes into the service.

President Lincoln annulled the proclamation of Hunter, as dealing with questions beyond the authority of "commanders in the field" to decide. Lincoln at the same time, in his proclamation besought the people to embrace the offer of compensated emancipation,¹ proposed by the United States Congress.

The feeling in the North against slavery was rapidly growing. Lincoln never pressed his views much in advance of public opinion. He bided his time until he thought the hour had come, and then he spoke or acted. He had already considered the subject carefully, and was only waiting the time to speak. The battle of Antietam gave him a suitable opportunity.

The Eman-
cipation
Proclama-
tion
announced.

320. Emancipation a War Measure; Effect. (1863-1865.)
— On the 22d of September, 1862, President Lincoln issued a proclamation, stating that on the first day of January, 1863, "all persons held as slaves within any state or designated part of a state, the people whereof shall then be in rebellion against the United States, shall be then, thenceforward, and forever free."²

Of course, no notice was taken of this preliminary proc-

¹ Compensated emancipation: that is, that payment should be made to the slave owners for slaves set free.

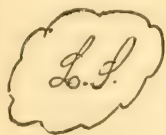
² Those portions were designated which were not under the control of the

lamation by the districts named, and on January 1, 1863, he issued the proclamation of which he had given one hundred days' notice. In this he declared the power was

Emancipation Proclamation issued January 1, 1863.

And by virtue of the power, and for the purpose of aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and part of States, are, and henceforward shall be free;

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution upon military necessity, I invoke the consideration and prayer of mankind, and the gracious favor of Almighty God.



Independence of the United States of America the eighty-seventh.

Abraham Lincoln

EXTRACT FROM LINCOLN'S EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION.

Reduced facsimile of the autograph copy.

vested in him as "Commander in chief of the Army and Navy of the United States," claiming that it was "a fit and necessary war measure."

Union government, for the President did not claim the power to issue such an order respecting those states which had not seceded.

Effect of the
Emancipa-
tion procla-
mation.

This proclamation was the first official blow struck at slavery, and henceforth made the war not only a struggle to maintain the union of the states, but also one to set free the slaves. Perhaps its greatest effect was abroad, for the long and brave resistance of the South had begun to make the Europeans think that she might succeed after all, and ought, perhaps, to be recognized. Now, any recognition of her independence, or any help which might be officially extended to her, would be at least an indirect support to slavery.

The most important immediate result was the employment of negroes and fugitive slaves in the armies of the Union. They had already been employed by the Confederates in throwing up intrenchments and as teamsters, and for other purposes. The faithfulness of the negroes to their southern masters, particularly on the plantations, where often there were no white men, has scarcely been paralleled in history, and is worthy of great admiration.

Negroes in
the Union
army.

The enlistment of negroes by the Federal government was resented by the South, and led finally to a cessation of the exchange of prisoners; for as the Confederate authorities naturally refused to exchange any black soldiers or their white officers captured in battle, the United States government refused to exchange at all, feeling bound to protect equally all who had entered its service. About one hundred and eighty thousand negroes entered the armies of the United States during the war and their record is a creditable one.

Prisoners of
war.

321. Prisoners of War. (1861-1865.)—Of the evils incident to war, the confinement and ill-treatment of prisoners is not the least; and when exchange of prisoners is not practised, or is much restricted, the evils are greatly in-

creased. This, true of all wars, was sorrowfully true of the Civil War in America. Seldom, if ever, have such heart-rending sufferings been endured; and Andersonville has become almost a synonym for terrible miseries.¹

322. The Sioux War. (1862.) — To add to the difficulties of the United States, in the summer of 1862, the Sioux Indians in Dakota and western Minnesota revolted. They had complained with abundant reason of unjust treatment and non-fulfilment of treaties. To avenge their wrongs, they fell upon the whites, killing men, women, and children. A detachment from the army soon put an end to these troubles, and a number of the Indians were tried, found guilty of murder, and hanged.

Sioux War
1862.

323. Campaign in the West; Vicksburg. (1863.) — In the West and Southwest there were four Union armies: one under Grant, in the vicinity of Vicksburg, Mississippi; one under Banks, in Louisiana; one under Schofield, in Missouri; and one under Rosecrans, near Murfreesboro, Tennessee. The main purpose of the first three was to open the Mississippi River, and thus divide the Confederacy. The objective point of the army of Rosecrans was Chattanooga.

Union
armies in the
West, 1863.

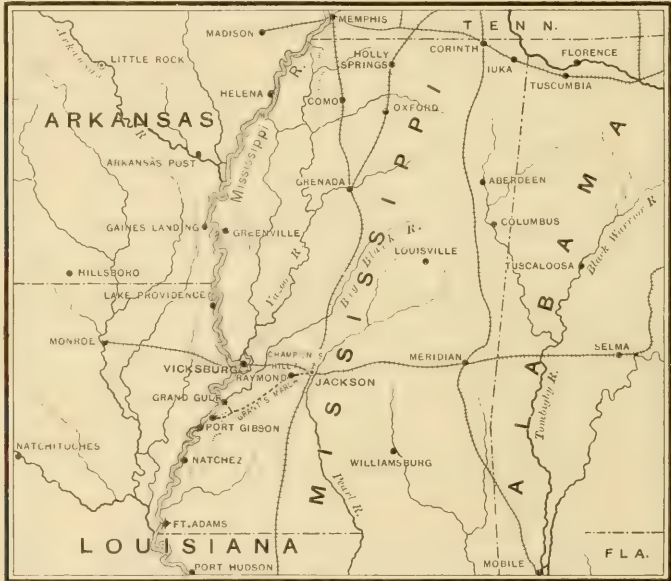
Vicksburg and Port Hudson, still held by the Confederates, were very strong points. Leaving Corinth, Grant, with the coöperation of gunboats and transports, tried plan after plan in order to defeat the Confederate forces, and to reduce Vicksburg; again and again his efforts were unsuccessful. He next occupied the country east of the city, and made several ineffectual assaults upon the fortifications. He then began a regular siege of the city.

Grant
besieges
Vicksburg.

324. Chancellorsville; Lee invades Pennsylvania. (1863.)

¹ "Of that camp, the Confederate inspector-general spoke as a place of horrors beyond description."

Chancellors-
ville, May
2, 3, 1863.



MAP OF THE VICKSBURG CAMPAIGN.

federate side the loss in numbers was not so heavy; but their great soldier, "Stonewall" Jackson, was shot by his own men in the dusk of the evening, under the supposition that he and his staff were enemies.

Lee now resolved on a second invasion of the North, a movement practically forced upon him by public opinion. His army of seventy-three thousand experienced troops

moved toward the Shenandoah Valley. Hooker kept his army between Lee and Washington. But when Lee crossed the Potomac, and hastened across Maryland, Hooker followed him. Lee entered Pennsylvania and captured Chambersburg. A part of his force reached York, while his cavalry were within sight of Harrisburg.

Lee invades Maryland and Pennsylvania, 1863.

The North was thoroughly alarmed and with good reason. The militia were hastily called out, and hurried forward to protect Philadelphia and Harrisburg and to reenforce the army. Meanwhile, on the 27th of June, Hooker, annoyed by the orders which came from Washington, asked to be relieved of his command.



THE GETTYSBURG NATIONAL MILITARY PARK.
Hancock Avenue looking south.

325. Gettysburg. (1863.)—Hooker was succeeded by General George G. Meade of Pennsylvania. Meade was a graduate of West Point, had served in the Mexican War, and had been in the Army of the Potomac since its organization. A steady officer who would run few risks, he conducted the remainder of the campaign in his own way.¹

General Meade in command of the Army of the Potomac.

¹ He retained his position as commander of the Army of the Potomac until the close of the war.

Gettysburg,
July 1, 2, 3,
1863.

The two armies met at Gettysburg. A dreadful battle

followed, lasting three days (July 1, 2, 3). No field ever was more stubbornly contested; but Lee was defeated and forced to retreat. The loss of each army was great: about forty-four thousand men, about one-third of those engaged in the conflict, were killed, wounded, or missing. Gettysburg, the greatest battle on American soil, is generally regarded as the turning-point of the war.

Lee retreats.

Lee retreated across the Potomac, and no further attempt was made to invade the North. It was, indeed, impossible; all that Lee could do was to resist attacks and prolong the struggle. Meade followed the Confederates slowly until both armies were not far from the place from which they had started.

Vicksburg,
July 4, 1863.

The Mississippi open.

THE FALL OF VICKSBURG.

More Glorious News.

Gen. Pemberton Bids for
Conditions.

He Wants to March Out His Men.

"Unconditional Surrender" Grant
Don't See It.

He Will Not Allow a Single Man to
March Out.

PEMBERTON CONSULTS WITH
HIS OFFICERS.

They Don't Want to Stay in "Grant's
Fig Pen" Any Longer.

They Urge Pemberton to Surrender, Bag,
Baggage, Cannon, and Cattle.

And this on Our Ever Glorious
Fourth of July.

THE STRONGHOLD IN OUR POSSESSION.

WASH., Nov. Tuesday, July 7. (Special P. M.)
The following dispatch has just been received:
"VICKSBURG, Miss., July 4, 1863.
Gen. GILLES WELLES, Superintendent of the Navy.
SIR, I have the honor to inform you that Vicksburg has surrendered to the United States forces on this 4th of July.

Very respectfully, your obedient servant,
D. D. PORTER, Acting Rear Admiral.

From the New York *Herald* for
July 8, 1863.

326. **Vicksburg; Chattanooga.**
(1863.)—On the 4th of July, the day after the battle of Gettysburg, Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant, and thirty-two thousand prisoners fell into his hands. A few days later Port Hudson surrendered to Banks, and the Mississippi was open to its mouth.

The Confederates still held Chattanooga, which commanded eastern Tennessee and the entrance to Georgia. General Rosecrans was able to force the Confederate General Bragg to retire from Chattanooga; but later Bragg, having received reinforcements, attacked Rosecrans and defeated him at the battle of Chickamauga (September 19, 20), where, had it not been for the steadiness of General Thomas, the defeat would have been a rout. As it was, each army lost more than sixteen thousand men. Bragg gained a victory, but he did not get Chattanooga, though he shut up the Union forces in the town.

Chickamauga.

Grant, by his successes, had become one of the best known generals, and now all the western armies were put under his orders. He came to Chattanooga, bringing reinforcements and a number of officers who had served under him in his previous campaign. The siege of Chattanooga was raised. Bragg still held strong positions on the hills, and from these Grant determined, if possible, to drive him. In this he was entirely successful, and as part of the battle was fought on the mountain summit above the mists of the valley, it has been known as the "battle above the clouds." Bragg retreated to Dalton, Georgia, where he was shortly superseded by Joseph E. Johnston.

Grant at Chattanooga.

327. Morgan's Raid. (1863.)—One of the most striking incidents of the year (1863) was the raid of John Morgan, the Confederate cavalry general. Starting from Tennessee, he passed through Kentucky, his force being increased by sympathizers as he proceeded. Capturing one or two towns on the way, he reached the Ohio River, and seizing two steamers, crossed into Indiana; he then turned toward Ohio, and crossed the southern part of the state, going by night through the very outskirts of Cin-

Morgan's raid.

Morgan's
raid.

cinnati. Everywhere he went he plundered and destroyed. The raid caused the greatest alarm, and Morgan was pursued not only by regular troops, but also by almost every one in that part of the country capable of bearing arms. Finding that the whole country was aroused, he made for the Ohio River, on the banks of which he was finally captured. He was placed in confinement, but managed to escape and get again within the southern lines.

Blockade.

328. The Blockade ; Naval Operations. (1863.) — Meanwhile the blockade was maintained with vigor, and it became more and more difficult for the "blockade runners," as such vessels were called, to slip into the one or two ports which were not held by the Union forces.

The
Atlanta.

An attempt by a Union naval force to take Fort Sumter was a failure. Later in the year a combined naval and military force, under General Quincy A. Gillmore, made a desperate attack, battered Fort Sumter to pieces and took Fort Wagner, one of the outer harbor defences. Shells were thrown into Charleston itself, but the city was not taken. The Confederates built a ram, the *Atlanta*, in the Savannah River ; it was similar in build to the *Merrimac*, but on its way to the sea, it encountered the monitor *Weehawken*, and was captured after a short action.

Confederate
privateers.

329. Destruction of American Shipping by Privateers. (1861-1865.) — From the first, the South had expected the European governments to interfere for the sake of getting supplies of cotton, if for nothing else. They hoped also to secure a navy, but the close blockade maintained by the United States prevented, with one or two exceptions, any vessels built in the South from getting to sea.

In England, agents of the Confederate government succeeded in having several vessels built, armed, and manned. Charles Francis Adams, the American minister at London,

warned the British government of the nature of the vessels and their destination; but for some reason the British did not stop them. They were allowed to put to sea, and the result was that many vessels were captured, and American shipping was almost driven from the ocean, owners of vessels putting their ships under foreign flags in order to prevent the Confederate privateers from capturing them.¹

Confederate
vessels
built in
England.

The most noted of the privateers were the *Alabama*, the *Georgia*, the *Shenandoah*, and the *Florida*. Most of these vessels answered Secretary Seward's description of the *Alabama*: "She was purposely built for war against the United States by British subjects in a British port. . . . When she was ready she was sent . . . and her armament and equipment were sent . . . to a common port outside of the British waters, . . . and she was sent forth on her work of destruction with a crew chiefly of British subjects." The *Alabama* alone took sixty-five vessels, most of which she burned. These captures gave rise to the celebrated "Alabama Claims" and to the Geneva Arbitration (sect. 370).

The
Alabama.

330. Conscription North and South. (1862-1863.) — By the summer of 1863 the novelty of the war had worn off, and enlistments for the army were decreasing rapidly; so it was deemed necessary to resort to conscription or a draft. There was much objection to this, especially in the city of New York, where, on the 13th of July, 1863, there was a serious riot, and the mob practically had control for several days. During this time about fifty buildings were burned, over two million dollars' worth of property destroyed, and a number of lives sacrificed. The mob had a

Conscrip-
tion.

Riots in
New York.

¹ By United States law no vessel which has been transferred from the American flag can be restored to it except by special act of Congress.

Riots in
New York.

special hatred of colored people, and several were brutally murdered. Among the buildings burned was the Colored Orphans' Asylum; fortunately, there was time for the children to escape by a back door before the rioters gained access in front. The riot was finally put down by the police, aided by some troops who were hurried from the field of Gettysburg for the purpose. It was estimated that over twelve hundred of the rioters were killed.

The draft,
North and
South.

The draft was not directly very successful at the North, but it tended to increase the volunteering, and so far answered the purpose. In the South, conscription had been first resorted to in April, 1862. All men between the ages of eighteen and forty-five years, except those who were mentally or physically unfit for service, were subject to military service. By the second law, passed February, 1864, all white men between seventeen and fifty were enrolled.

Exemptions.

For various reasons there were in the North many exemptions. In the South, the exemptions were much fewer, and the law was rigorously enforced. There were no substitutes as in the North; for every able-bodied man was himself already a conscript. In the North few of those who had conscientious scruples against fighting suffered much. In the South many endured great suffering for conscience' sake.¹

Revenue.

331. Plans to raise Revenue in the United States. (1861.)
— The ordinary revenues of the country were insufficient to support the armies and the navy which had been called into existence, and some new way to raise money had to be

¹ From those who in the North were enrolled as liable for military service, men were chosen by lot. The names, written on slips of paper, were *drawn* out of a wheel; hence the term "draft." In the South the word "conscription" was used.

devised. The two principal means open to a nation for raising funds are (1) Taxation ; (2) Borrowing. The latter involves taxation, but it is not so evident. At the special session of Congress held in July, 1861, the duties on many articles of import were increased, and later internal taxation was resorted to.

How to
raise
revenue.

Congress made use also of borrowing to a large extent. This can be done in two ways : first, by issuing bonds, agreeing to pay interest on the sum named in the bond at a certain rate per annum ; secondly, by issuing bills, similar to bank-bills, promising to pay on demand the sum named in the bill. Congress tried both of these plans.

As the expenses of the war increased more and more, the loans and bills authorized did not suffice. The banks of the country suspended specie payments December 30, 1861 ; they had done this several times before, notably in 1837 (sect. 243). The government was forced to follow their example, and soon neither gold nor silver was to be seen in circulation.

Suspension
of specie
payments
December,
1861.

332. Small Notes and "Greenbacks." (1862.)— People were driven to all sorts of expedients to "make change," and, as in 1837, business firms issued "tokens," and notes for small amounts redeemable in sums of one dollar or over ; but the most popular way was to enclose postage stamps in small envelopes, with the amount enclosed written or printed on the outside. The government, however, soon issued bills of the denominations of fifty cents, twenty-five cents, etc., which met the demand for change.

Small notes.

It was plain that something more must be done. So, early in 1862, Congress authorized the issue of bills of various denominations, which came to be known, from the color of the backs of the bills, as "greenbacks." These bills

"Green-
backs."

Legal
tender.

were made a legal tender¹ for everything except payment of duties on imports, and of interest on the public debt. It was thought that if the interest on the debt was made payable in coin, the loans would be more readily subscribed to, both at home and abroad, and in order to get the gold coin to do this, duties on imports were required to be paid in gold.

"Premium
on gold."

333. "Premium on Gold." (1862-1879.)—Early in 1862 gold began, as it was said, to demand a premium in "greenbacks."² As the payment of the greenbacks in coin depended upon the success of the government in the war, the "premium on gold" was regarded as a sort of thermometer, or bulletin, by which to estimate the probable result of the conflict. In the early part of 1862 the premium was two per cent; in December it was thirty-three per cent; in December, 1863, notwithstanding the successes of Gettysburg and Vicksburg, it was fifty-one per cent; in June, 1864, the premium was one hundred per cent, making the paper dollar worth but fifty cents in gold. In July, 1864, the premium reached the highest point, one hundred and eighty-five, making the paper dollar worth only about thirty-five cents in gold. From this time the premium gradually declined, until the United States resumed specie payment in 1879, when the bills were exchangeable for gold at their face value (sect. 392).

Loans.

As it would not do to issue too many bills, large loans were negotiated on as good terms as possible. The large

¹ Legal tender is money or currency which the law authorizes a debtor to offer in payment of a debt, and requires the creditor to receive.

² In reality it was the paper money which declined and which should have been quoted at a discount, because gold was the standard with which the bills were compared, but it was thought not only more patriotic, but also a matter of policy, to quote gold at a premium rather than bills at a discount.

issue of "greenbacks" inflated prices, making the government pay higher rates for everything, thus vastly increasing the debt, besides making the amount of yearly interest to be paid far greater. It is estimated that the debt was increased in this way several hundred millions of dollars. By the end of 1863 the expense of carrying on the war was enormous, the daily cost of the army and navy being nearly \$3,000,000, and during the latter part of the next year it was still greater.

334. Finances in the South. (1862-1865.)— In the Confederacy a somewhat similar but worse state of affairs existed. Taxes were laid on almost everything that could be taxed, and notes were issued payable "six months after the ratification of a treaty of peace with the United States." Bonds were also issued to a large amount, and many sold in Europe. As the success of the South became more doubtful these bonds fell in value, until at last they became worthless.¹

Finances in
the South.

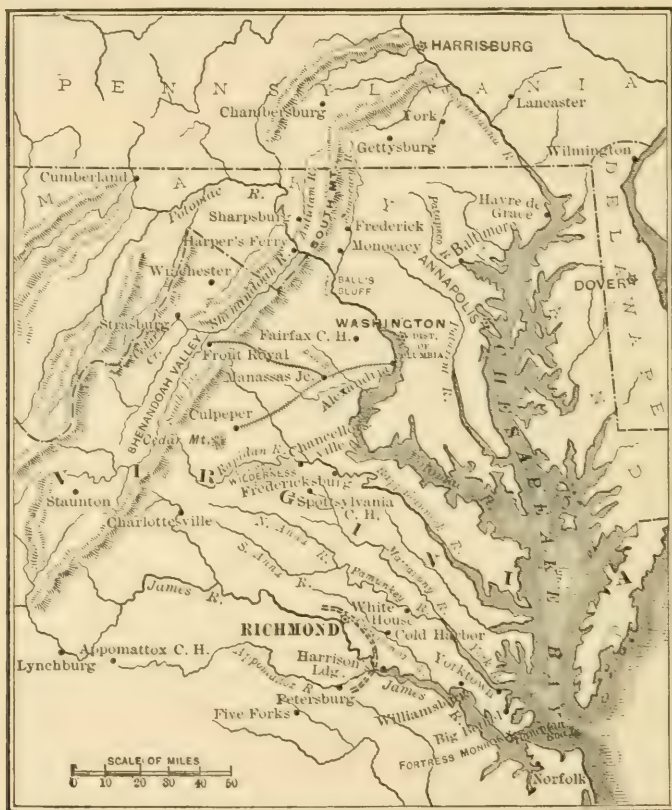
The notes also became more and more depreciated, until in some places the curious spectacle was seen of "greenbacks" being accepted by the Confederates in preference to their own currency. Though the advance in prices was great in the North, it was small in comparison with that in the South. Early in May, 1864, the following were some of the prices quoted in Confederate money at Richmond: shoes, one hundred and twenty-five dollars per pair; flour, two hundred and seventy-five dollars per barrel; bacon, nine dollars per pound; potatoes, twenty-five dollars per bushel; butter, fifteen dollars per pound. Many things which are considered the necessities of life were absolutely unobtainable, so close was the blockade of the ports.

Prices in the
Confed-
eracy.

¹ By Amendment XIV. of the Constitution, "debts incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States" are "illegal and void."

Suffering in
the South.

The suffering in the South for the want of those articles was very great, and it fell heavily upon the women and children who had to stay at home. In the army the lack of quinine and other drugs was also severely felt.



CAMPAIGNS IN VIRGINIA.

National
Bank Act.

335. National Bank Act. (1863.) — The United States Congress passed the National Bank Act in 1863. By its provisions banks could be organized under a national law.

and could issue notes on the security of United States bonds deposited with the United States Treasurer at Washington. As the redemption of these notes was certain, they were accepted everywhere, regardless of the place of issue, and formed an admirable circulating medium. A market was also provided for United States bonds, and the interest of the people in the stability of the government was greatly strengthened.¹

336. Union Armies, East and West. (1863.) — It was evident at the close of the year 1863 that final success was to be on the side of the Union. In spite of the bravery and endurance of the Confederates, they had steadily lost almost everywhere except in Virginia.

SUMMARY.

The Civil War began with the attack on Fort Sumter, April 12, 1861. The fall of Sumter roused both the North and the South. The first battle was Bull Run, in which the Union forces were defeated. The resources of the North were far greater than those of the South. Having the navy and the ability to secure many vessels, the Federal government could blockade the southern ports.

In 1862 the important engagement between the *Monitor* and the *Merrimac* took place. Before the end of the year Forts Henry and Donelson and Island No. 10 were captured, and the battle of Pittsburg Landing was fought. The year closed favorably for the Union cause.

Early in the second year of the war (April, 1862, to April, 1863) New Orleans was taken — the one great victory of the year. McClellan failed to capture Richmond. Pope was defeated at Bull Run. Lee invaded Maryland, but was checked at Antietam. He was allowed to

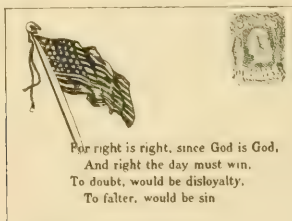
¹ Notes could be issued to the amount of ninety per cent of the par value of the bond. Somewhat later a law was passed taxing all paper money except that issued by national banks. This put an end to issue of notes by state banks.

retreat. President Lincoln announced the Emancipation Proclamation September 22, 1862, and issued it January 1, 1863. The Union arms suffered a severe repulse at Fredericksburg.

The third year of the war opened disastrously for the Union cause with the Union defeat at Chancellorsville, May 2, 3, 1863. Lee invaded Maryland and Pennsylvania, and was defeated by Meade at Gettysburg, July 1, 2, 3, 1863. Lee retreated to Virginia. Vicksburg surrendered to General Grant July 4, 1863; Port Hudson surrendered to Banks, and the Mississippi was opened to the sea. Rosecrans was defeated at Chickamauga. Grant raises the siege of Chattanooga, and defeats Bragg in the "battle above the clouds."

The blockade was maintained. Confederate privateers, especially the *Alabama*, inflicted great damage upon American shipping. Conscription was resorted to both North and South. Revenue was raised by taxation and borrowing. Premium on gold increases rapidly. Finances at the South were much worse than at the North. The United States Congress passes National Bank Act, 1863.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xlv.



REDUCED FACSIMILE OF A "WAR-TIME" ENVELOPE.

CHAPTER XVI.

CIVIL WAR (*continued*).

REFERENCES.

A. B. Hart, *Source-Book*, Chap. xviii.; J. D. Champlin, *Young Folks' History of the War for the Union*; H. C. Wright, *Children's Stories of American Progress*, Chap. xvii.

337. Grant placed at the Head of the Armies; Sherman. (1864.) — The war had now gone on for two years and a half. The South was rapidly using up her resources and was suffering from lack of men and supplies. But there were not a few in the North who failed to see this; they were tired of the war, and did not hesitate to say so. Moreover, it was getting near the time for the Presidential election, and unless there should be some signal success, the war party feared that Lincoln might not be reelected, and that a compromise might be made with the South.

It was evident that a single head for all the armies in the field was needed—a man who should be responsible for the whole plan of operations everywhere. Accordingly, Congress revived the rank of lieutenant-general, which had previously been held only by Washington and Scott. Lincoln at once bestowed it upon the man whom public opinion, as well as military judgment, pointed out as fitted to receive it, and for whom the rank was really created, General Ulysses S. Grant. This was on March 3, 1864. The wisdom of the step was at once made manifest. A plan of connected action was arranged. Grant came East

Grant at the
head of the
armies,
1864.

Grant with
Army of the
Potomac.

Plan of
attack.

and made his headquarters with the Army of the Potomac, Meade carrying out his orders. In the West the most important movements were intrusted to General Sherman.

338. Grant's Plan of Attack. (1864.)—Grant's plan was that the Army of the Potomac should attack Richmond, and that Sherman should move southeastward from Chattanooga toward the sea, thus penetrating the heart of the Confederacy. By engaging the Confederate forces in that part of the country, he would prevent the sending of reinforcements or supplies to Lee.



ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT.

ULYSSES SIMPSON GRANT was born in Ohio, April 27, 1822. He graduated from West Point in 1843. He served in the Mexican War under both Taylor and Scott. He resigned from the army in 1854, and entered mercantile life. He volunteered at the breaking out of the Civil War, and was soon made a brigadier-general. His capture of Fort Donelson brought him prominently before the country, and the rest of his military career is given in the account of the Civil War. He was created lieutenant-general in 1864, and general in 1866. He was elected President in 1868 and re-elected in 1872. He died at Mt. McGregor, New York, July 23, 1885. He published his "Personal Memoirs" in 1885. The book is not only of great value as history, but is very attractive from its simplicity of style and its unassuming story.

The Con-
federacy
"a shell."

The part of the South to be invaded had been entirely free from the actual presence of armies. It was now to experience in a marked degree many of the harshest of war measures. Grant and Sherman were convinced that the Confederacy was a shell, and that vigorous measures would make it collapse. The march was begun simultaneously by Grant and Sherman May 5, 1864. They had the ablest generals of the Confederacy to contend with,—

Robert E. Lee and Joseph E. Johnston.

339. "On to Richmond"; Early's Raid. (1864.)—Grant

with an army of 120,000 men, nearly double that of Lee, started to attempt what had been the ruin of brave men before him,—a Virginia campaign. The Union forces entered the rough country near the Rapidan, known as the "Wilderness," where Lee's sixty-two thousand men were quite a match for Grant's larger number.

The "Wilderness."

For two weeks there was a terrible struggle, with fighting almost every day, and a fearful loss of life. Gradually Lee was forced to move back his lines until Grant reached Cold Harbor, about eight miles from Richmond. A brave but fruitless attack upon Lee's works, in which it is said that six thousand men were shot down in half an hour, convinced Grant that it was useless to attempt to take Richmond from the north. Altogether he had lost in a campaign of a month nearly sixty thousand men, and his antagonist half as many.

Cold Harbor.

Grant now determined to cross the James River and attack from the south, hoping to seize the railroads which brought supplies from the southern states to Lee's army and to Richmond. Lee resolved to try an offensive movement, and so sent Early down the Shenandoah Valley.

Early's raid.

The authorities at Washington were greatly alarmed, and justly so. At the Monocacy, in Maryland, Early defeated General Lew Wallace, who courageously faced certain defeat in order to delay Early, a matter of the highest importance. Early then hurried on toward Washington and appeared before the defences on the north side of the city. These he might possibly have carried at first had he known how poorly they were manned; he retreated, however, carrying with him much booty.

One incident of the raid was the taking of Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, by a detachment of his forces. On the refusal of the inhabitants to pay \$100,000 in gold

Chambersburg burned.

or \$500,000 in "greenbacks," the greater part of the town was burned.

Sheridan
ravages the
Shenandoah
Valley.

340. Sheridan in the Shenandoah Valley; Petersburg. (1864.)—After the battle of the "Wilderness," Lee is reported to have said, "At last the Army of the Potomac has a head." Grant, though he sent reënforcements to Washington, was in no way diverted from his main purpose. To prevent the occurrence of another raid, he sent General Philip H. Sheridan into the Shenandoah Valley and put him in command.

Sheridan, only thirty-four years old, had shown great ability, and was, perhaps, the best cavalry officer in the Federal army. It was soon apparent that the fertile valley was to have a sadder experience than it had yet known. Grant's orders were that "nothing should be left to invite the enemy to return. Take all provisions, forage, and stock wanted for the use of your command. Such as cannot be consumed, destroy." The order was thoroughly carried out. Sheridan says in his report, "I have destroyed over two thousand barns filled with wheat, hay, and farming implements; over seventy mills filled with flour and wheat; have driven in front of the army over four thousand head of stock; and have killed and issued to the troops not less than three thousand sheep."

Sheridan proved to be an abler general than his predecessors, and Early was so completely worsted that there were no more "valley raids." The Confederates could not spare men to make another attempt, and the country was so thoroughly ravaged that there was little to invite invasion by the Confederates.

Petersburg.

Grant's movements brought him in front of Petersburg, Virginia. He succeeded in cutting one of the railroads supplying Lee, who was thus greatly inconvenienced.

For the rest of the year there was no general engagement; Lee had such a long line of intrenchments that he was unable to send any reënforcements to other parts of the South. The resources of the Confederacy were daily growing less, and it was impossible for Lee to get recruits to fill his ranks. The courage and energy shown by Lee and his army in thus fighting a daily losing game were wonderful.

341. Sherman takes Atlanta; Nashville. (1864.)—Sherman, meanwhile, was slowly forcing Johnston to retreat until he reached Atlanta, Georgia. Johnston was only waiting until he could get Sherman far enough from his base of supplies to offer battle under circumstances which would be unfavorable to the Union army. Sherman's supplies were brought by a single railroad which he had to defend, and thus the farther he advanced the weaker was his force.

Just at this time the Confederate President, partly in answer to the complaints of the people against Johnston's slowness, removed Johnston, replacing him by General J. B. Hood, who had the reputation of being one of the hardest fighters in the Confederate army. Sherman, however, succeeded in taking



Sherman's
campaign.

WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN.

WILLIAM TECUMSEH SHERMAN was born in Ohio, February 8, 1820. He went to West Point where he graduated in 1840, taking high rank. He served in the Seminole War, and resigned from the army in 1853, and entered first mercantile and then professional life. He re-entered the army at the outbreak of the Civil War, and was at the first battle of Bull Run. He was sent west and was with Grant. When Grant was made commander-in-chief, 1864, Sherman was given the command of the chief armies in the West. After the war he was made lieutenant-general, and in 1869, when Grant became President, Sherman became general. He retired from the army in 1883, and died in New York, February 14, 1891.

Sherman
takes
Atlanta.

Atlanta (September 2). Here Sherman destroyed everything which would be likely to aid an enemy, such as iron foundries, manufactories, and mills.

Hood advances on Nashville.

In the hope of checking Sherman's further advance, the Confederate government now ordered Hood to leave Georgia and march toward Nashville, Tennessee, which General George H. Thomas of the Union army was covering. It was hoped that this move would cause Sherman to follow Hood, and that two things would be brought about: the destruction of the Union forces, and the removal of the seat of war again to Tennessee. But Sherman, after following Hood for some distance, came back to Atlanta, believing that Thomas could take care of himself.

Thomas routs Hood's army at Nashville, 1864.

Hood, meantime, pressed on toward Nashville; and after a severe battle with four divisions of the Union army under General Schofield at Franklin, besieged the whole of Thomas's army in the city. The Union general seemed slow in attacking the Confederate forces; the patience of the authorities at Washington was almost exhausted, and he was on the point of being relieved of his command, when, his preparations being completed, he sallied forth, attacked Hood's army, and routed it (December 15, 16, 1864). So thoroughly was this done that it was never reorganized. The loss to the South was irretrievable.

Sherman begins his march.

342. Sherman begins his March. (1864.) — Sherman, on his return to Atlanta, found himself with no Confederate forces of any strength between him and the sea, nor indeed between him and Virginia. He could march through Georgia to Savannah, thence to the rear of Lee's army in Virginia, which, thus attacked front and rear, would be compelled to surrender.

In order to move with the quickness needed for success, Sherman resolved to live off the country through which he

might pass. He took in his wagons only ten days' provisions, and left behind everything which could possibly be spared. On the 15th of November, 1864, he left Atlanta with sixty thousand troops to begin his march to the sea. He cut the telegraph wires to the north, tore up the railroad tracks, and burned the bridges so that no intelligence of his movements or means of approach would be left for Hood in case Thomas should be defeated. For nearly six weeks nothing was heard of Sherman or his army.

Sherman
leaves
Atlanta.

343. March through Georgia. (1864.) — Sherman's route was southeast; the orders were to advance "wherever practicable, by four roads, as nearly parallel as possible. . . . The army will forage liberally on the country during the march; to this end each brigade commander will organize a good and sufficient foraging party, who will gather corn or forage of any kind, meat of any kind, vegetables, corn meal, or whatever is needed by the command, aiming all the time to keep in the wagons at least ten days' provisions.

The march
through
Georgia.

"Soldiers must not enter dwellings or commit any trespass; but during a halt or camp they may be permitted to gather turnips, potatoes, or other vegetables, and to drive in stock in sight of their camp. To corps commanders alone is intrusted the power to destroy mills, houses, cotton-gins, etc. Where the army is unmolested, no destruction of such property should be permitted; but should guerillas or bushwhackers molest our march, or should the inhabitants burn bridges or obstruct roads, or otherwise manifest local hostilities, then army commanders should order and enforce a devastation more or less relentless, according to the measure of such hostility. As for horses, mules, wagons, etc., belonging to the inhabitants, the cavalry and artillery may appro-

Sherman's
orders.

priate freely and without limit, discriminating, however, between the rich, who are usually hostile, and the poor and industrious, who are usually neutral and friendly. In all foraging the parties engaged will endeavor to leave with each family a reasonable portion for maintenance."

March
through
Georgia.

344. **Sherman's March; Savannah Abandoned.** (1864.)

— Such was part of the general order issued by Sherman to his army at the beginning of the enterprise. Its restrictions were carried out as far as practicable; but war is war, and the path of the army, sixty miles wide and three hundred miles in length, was as the track of a tornado or of an army of locusts. Railroads were rendered useless by tearing up the rails, heating and twisting each one so that it could be of no further service as a rail; bridges were burned, and buildings demolished. In short, everything which might be of use from a military point of view was taken, rendered useless, or destroyed.

Savannah
evacuated,
December
21, 1864.

There was comparatively little fighting beyond cavalry skirmishing until within a short distance of Savannah. On the 21st of December the Confederate forces evacuated that city, and the Union troops marched in. Sherman had already communicated with the Union gunboats on the river. This was the first news that had been heard of the army since it had left Atlanta. Sherman at once sent a letter to President Lincoln, saying, "I beg to present to you as a Christmas gift the city of Savannah, with 150 heavy guns and plenty of ammunition, also about twenty-five thousand bales of cotton." The letter reached the President on Christmas eve.

Fort Fisher.

345. **The Navy; Mobile; Confederate Cruisers.** (1864).

— Meanwhile, the blockade was maintained more closely than ever. An unsuccessful attempt was made to capture Fort Fisher, which guarded the entrance to Wilmington,

North Carolina, a great resort for blockade-runners. General Banks was sent with a land force, supported by gunboats, up the Red River of Louisiana to attack Shreveport and disperse a Confederate army in that part of the state. This expedition was also a failure, Banks being defeated at Sabine and Pleasant Hill.

Red River
of Louisiana

The blockade had been frequently evaded at Mobile, Alabama. While the United States cruisers had been fairly successful in blockading the entrance to the bay, not a few vessels from time to time had slipped in. It was determined to storm the forts which defended the entrance. This enterprise was intrusted to Admiral Farragut, who, with fourteen wooden vessels and four monitors, forced his way past the forts and the obstructions in the channel into the bay where the iron-clad ram *Tennessee* was disabled and captured. She was the most formidable vessel possessed by the Confederates, and was commanded by Admiral Buchanan, who had been commander of the

Farragut at
Mobile.



ADMIRAL FARRAGUT.

DAVID GLASGOW FARRAGUT was born in Tennessee, July 5, 1801. He entered the navy as a midshipman when scarcely ten years old, and was on service during the War of 1812. Though a southern man he threw in his lot with the Union and became the greatest naval officer in United States history. He was created vice-admiral 1864, and admiral 1865. He died in New Hampshire, August 12, 1870.

Merrimac in her fight with the *Monitor* (sect. 315). In order to get a clearer view of the operations, Admiral Farragut stationed himself in the vessel's shrouds, to which one of the officers insisted on fastening him lest a sudden shock should throw him off, or, being wounded, he should fall into the

water. Farragut had the aid of the land forces, to whom the forts soon surrendered. This was August 5, 1864. During this year the Confederates met with severe losses; on the 19th of June the *Alabama* had been sunk by the United States steam war vessel *Kearsarge* off Cherbourg, France; in August the *Georgia* was captured off Lisbon, Portugal; in October the ram *Albatross* was destroyed in the Roanoke River by means of a torpedo, and the *Florida* was captured in the harbor of Bahia, Brazil.¹

346. Peace Party; Lincoln Renominated. (1864.) — Notwithstanding the successes of the Union forces in 1863 and the continued non-intervention of foreign nations, there was a party of considerable size in the North which was clamoring for peace. The war had been prolonged for nearly four years, without any certain signs of an end; taxes were high; the expenses of keeping up the military and naval establishments were enormous; thousands of families had lost one or more members by death on the field, or in the hospital, or in southern prisons.

The fact that over a million new men had been called for during the past year led many to believe that the Union armies had not been so successful as was reported, and that ultimate triumph was hopeless. Cries of military despotism were raised, and unconstitutional and arbitrary measures were charged upon the administration.

Notwithstanding these protests the Republican party had gathered to itself many who had hitherto acted with the Democrats.² A convention was held at Baltimore, June 7, 1864, and President Lincoln was renominated on

¹ The capture of the *Florida* was illegal, according to international law; and the United States government ordered that the vessel should be returned to Bahia, but before she had actually started she was sunk in Chesapeake Bay.

² For a time the title "National Union Party" was adopted.

Kearsarge
and
Alabama.

Peace party
in the
North
1864.

Lincoln
renomi-
nated.

the first ballot. Andrew Johnson, the one senator from the seceded states who refused to act with his state, and who had afterward been appointed by President Lincoln military governor of his own state, Tennessee, was nominated for Vice-President.

The platform adopted expressed confidence in the administration, approved the Emancipation Proclamation, the employment of colored troops, and "the determination of the government of the United States not to compromise with rebels, or to offer them any terms of peace, except such as may be based upon an unconditional surrender of their hostility and a return to their just allegiance to the Constitution and laws of the United States." A constitutional amendment abolishing slavery, "and the speedy construction of the railroad to the Pacific coast," were among the measures favored. In short, the acts of the administration were thoroughly indorsed.

Union
platform,
1864.

347. Radical and Democratic Conventions. (1864.) — A week previous to the meeting of the Republican convention, about three hundred and fifty persons, representing those who believed that the President was too conservative, met at Cleveland, Ohio, and nominated General John C. Frémont of California, and John Cochrane of New York. Their platform in essential points differed little from that adopted at Baltimore, except in declaring "that the confiscation of the lands of the rebels, and their distribution among the soldiers and actual settlers, is a measure of justice." The feeling of others was expressed by Wendell Phillips, who wrote, "The administration, therefore, I regard as a civil and military failure, and its avowed policy ruinous to the North in every point of view."

Radical
convention.

The Democratic convention met in Chicago, August 29, and nominated General George B. McClellan of New Jer-

Democratic
convention.

Democratic
platform.

sey, and George H. Pendleton of Ohio. The platform declared "that after four years of failure to restore the Union by the experiment of war . . . justice, humanity, liberty, and the public welfare demand that immediate efforts be made for a cessation of hostilities, with a view to an ultimate convention of the states, or other peaceable means, to the end that at the earliest practicable moment peace may be restored on the basis of the Federal union of the states." Various acts of the government were declared to be "a shameful violation of the Constitution," and it was charged, among other things, "that the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution . . . [is] calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed." McClellan in his letter of acceptance almost repudiated the platform, and could hardly do otherwise, as he himself had done many of the things of which it specially complained.

Radical
candidates
withdraw.

348. Political State of the North ; Lincoln Reëlected. (1864.) — In September Frémont and Cochrane withdrew from the contest, lest a division among the Republicans might elect the Democratic candidate. Frémont was careful to make this clear in his letter by saying, "I consider his [Mr. Lincoln's] administration has been politically, militarily, and financially a failure, and that its necessary continuance is a cause of regret for the country."

There was apparently much to discourage the Union party. Many thought that there had not been enough gained to make the capture of Richmond likely. Very many of those who would support the reëlection of the President were in the armies, and it was possible that such

states as New York and Pennsylvania might be carried by the opposition.

The destruction of the *Alabama*, the successes of Sherman in northern Georgia; the capture of Atlanta only a day or two after the Democratic convention had pronounced the war a failure; the arrangements by which the votes of the volunteer soldiers in the armies could be counted; the withdrawal of Frémont; the conviction of many that it would be a bad policy to change leaders while the war questions were unsettled; and a growing recognition of the real greatness of Lincoln, — all these influences combined to give Lincoln and Johnson at the election in November a popular majority of more than four hundred thousand, not counting the army vote,¹ and 212 electoral votes to 21 for the Democratic candidates. Every state not in the Confederacy had given its vote to Lincoln except New Jersey, Delaware, and Kentucky.

Lincoln
reëlected,
1864.

349. Admission of West Virginia and Nevada. (1863, 1864.) — In 1863, forty-eight of the western counties of Virginia, whose inhabitants objected to secession, were admitted into the Union as the state of West Virginia. There were few slaves in these counties, and the interests of the people were mining and manufacturing rather than agricultural.²

West Vir-
ginia ad-
mitted,
1863.

In October, 1864, the territory of Nevada, with the addition of a small part of Arizona, was admitted as a state.

Nevada ad-
mitted,
1864.

¹ The majority for Lincoln in the army vote was over 80,000, which brought up his majority to nearly 500,000.

² The Constitution (Art. IV., sect. 3) requires the consent of the Legislature of the state concerned if a new state is to be formed within its jurisdiction; and Congress practically decided that the state of Virginia consisted of the part under the control of that government which was in sympathy with the United States authority; so the people of what is now West Virginia did little more than ask their own consent.

It was expected that the enormous output of the mines would attract many settlers, and this expectation, together with supposed political expediency, carried the day.¹

350. Charleston taken; Sherman marches Northward. (1865.) — Sherman left Savannah (sect. 344) February 1, 1865, on his northern march. Owing to the numerous rivers and swamps along the coast, he struck directly for Columbia, South Carolina. On the 17th he entered the city, and a large part of it was burned. Whether the fires were started by the Confederate troops as they went out of the town, or by the Union troops as they came in, has never been shown; each side charged the other with the action.

Simultaneously with the taking of Columbia, Charleston was evacuated by the Confederates, and the Union troops took possession. Other Confederate garrisons followed the example, and the troops thus gathered together, with the remnant of Hood's army (sect. 341) were, in answer to public demand at the South, placed under the leadership of General Joseph E. Johnston.

Sherman's northward march was in reality much more hazardous than his march through Georgia. The country was more difficult to traverse, and supplies were less sure. Above all there was an opposing general, who, if not strong enough to risk an open battle, was quite strong enough to make advance in the highest degree dangerous, and who was ever on the alert to take advantage of the slightest error which his antagonist might commit.

¹ Nevada has had the experience, unique among the states of the Union, of suffering a loss in her population. The population in 1870 was 42,491; in 1880, 62,266; in 1890, 45,761; in 1900, 42,335. This loss is due to the decline in mining interests, resulting in part from the failure of many mines and from the unprofitableness and difficulty of working mines at great depths.

Sherman's
northern
march.

Charleston
evacuated.

By the time Sherman approached Goldsboro, North Carolina, Johnston felt able to risk an attack, which was made with great vigor; he was, however, repelled, and Sherman reached Goldsboro, where he received reënforcements by way of Wilmington, which had fallen into Union hands in February. Both armies now halted, waiting for further developments in Virginia.

Goldsboro.

351. Chief Justice Chase; Peace Negotiations. (1864, 1865.)—In June, 1864, Salmon P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury, resigned, and W. P. Fessenden was appointed to fill his place. In October of the same year Chief Justice Taney died, and President Lincoln nominated Ex-Secretary Chase as Chief Justice of the Supreme Court; and he was at once confirmed by the Senate.

Salmon P.
Chase,
Chief
Justice,
1864.

During 1864 and the early part of 1865 there had been several informal attempts both North and South to bring about a cessation of hostilities. The most important of these was in February, 1865, when Alexander H. Stephens, the Vice-President of the Confederate states, with two companions met President Lincoln and Secretary Seward by previous arrangement on board a steamer in Hampton Roads and had a full, intelligent, and amicable discussion of the state of affairs. But as President Lincoln refused to negotiate except upon the basis of the disbandment of the Confederate forces, the restoration of the national authority, and the acknowledgment of the abolition of slavery, the conference came to nothing.

Peace con-
ference,
Hampton
Roads,
1864.

During the conversation Stephens attempted to show that Lincoln would be justified in making terms with "rebels" by referring to the case of Charles I. of England. To this Lincoln replied: "I am not strong on history; I depend mainly on Secretary Seward for that. All I remember of Charles is that he lost his head."

Sheridan's
raid in the
Shenandoah
Valley.

Petersburg
evacuated.

Richmond
evacuated,
April 3,
1865.

Lee surren-
ders at
Appomattox,
April
9, 1865.

352. Sheridan's Raid; Petersburg; Richmond taken; Lee surrenders. (1865.)—In February, Wilmington, North Carolina, was taken, and the Confederacy was without a port. In February and March, Sheridan, at the head of his cavalry, made a raid down the Shenandoah Valley to Staunton, cutting the railroads upon which Lee largely depended for his supplies. Then, after joining Grant, Sheridan was sent to the southwest of Petersburg. Sharp battles were fought, the Federal troops were victorious. Lee, unable to hold Petersburg, sent on the 2d of April a telegram to President Davis announcing that it was necessary to evacuate both that city and Richmond at once. The message reached Davis on Sunday, when he was in his place of worship. The preparations for evacuation told the inhabitants of Richmond what was coming; there was indescribable confusion. The naval rams in the river were blown up, the tobacco warehouses set on fire, barrels of liquor were knocked in the head and their contents poured into the gutters as a precaution. Some soldiers, getting drunk from the liquor scooped up, began to pillage.

Early in the morning of the 3d, General Weitzel, learning that the Confederates were evacuating Richmond, advanced, and entered the city with his troops. Richmond was taken.

Six days after (April 9), Lee surrendered the Army of Northern Virginia to Grant at Appomattox Court House, seventy-five miles west of Richmond, whither he had retreated after evacuating Richmond and Petersburg. Grant's terms were very liberal. The Confederate troops were to lay down their arms, return to their homes, and agree not to fight against the United States; they were allowed to keep their horses as they would "need them for the spring ploughing."

7th Apr '65—

Genl

I have rec^d your note
of this date. Though not enter-
taining the opinion you express
of the hopefulness of further resis-
-tance on the part of the Army
of N. Va. - I reciprocate your
desire to avoid useless effusion
of blood, & therefore before consider-
ing your proposition ask
the terms you will offer on
condition of its surrender—

Very respt^{ly} your obt^l serv^t

R Lee
Genl

H Genl M. S. Grant

Comm^d Armies of the U. States

GENERAL LEE'S LETTER CONCERNING SURRENDER.

Facsimile of the autograph copy.

President
Lincoln
visits Rich-
mond.

353. **Lincoln assassinated ; his Greatness.** (1865.)—The surrender of Lee's army was recognized to be the end of the struggle. Lincoln himself visited Richmond the day after the capture, and walked through its streets. The rejoicing in the North had not ended when the whole country, North and South, was horrified by the news of

THE NEW YORK HERALD.

WHEELS 573 12458

NEW YORK SATURDAY, APRIL 15 1938

IMPORTANT.

ASSASSINATION
OF
PRESIDENT LINCOLN

The President Shot at the Theatre Last Evening.

THE REBELS.

LET RATES AT BAYVELL

His Latest Appeal to His De- voted Followers

The Tables are 7.5 x 11.5 inches
 Standing in height, as it leaves
 the table from the top of the
 back table to the top.

He Vainly Promises to Behave Virtuously at All Seasons.

THE PRESS DESPATCHES.

THE NEW YORK "HERALD'S" ANNOUNCEMENT

President
Lincoln
assassinated,
April 14,
1865.

the assassination of President Lincoln by John Wilkes Booth at Ford's Theatre, Washington, on the evening of April 14. The crime seems to have been the work of a southern sympathizer filled with a half-crazy idea of ven-

Seward
attacked.

MAYOR'S OFFICE, APRIL 15th, 1865.
WHITMAN. We are informed of the death of
ABRAHAM LINCOLN,
PRESIDENT of the UNITED STATES.

by the hand of an assassin, and in consideration of the great and irreparable injury that has befallen our country. I hereby request all the people of Gardiner not prevented by disability to assemble at the several places of public worship and bow themselves before Almighty God imploring His Divine assistance and the intercession of our country's pious Stundas, 16th inst. I hope all the citizens will forego every little inconvenience and thus show their sympathy for the great sorrow that has come upon us, and I also request the prayers of the Clergy and people be offered up that the life of Secretary Seward may be spared.

S. O. MITCHELL, Mayor.

A MAYOR'S PROCLAMATION OF
DEATH OF LINCOLN.

⁴ Booth escaped, but was pursued, and shot by one of his pursuers. A number of the conspirators were captured, tried, and convicted, some on slender evidence. Four were hanged, and four sentenced to long terms of imprisonment.

him, and how much they had learned to rely upon his kindness and judgment. No vindictiveness had ever been apparent in his words or actions; and the southern people mourned him as well as the people of the North, for they felt they had lost one who would have been their friend. His real statesmanship received a tardy recognition; but his state papers, now that they can be read calmly, are seen to be almost unsurpassed for clearness of meaning and vigor of style.¹

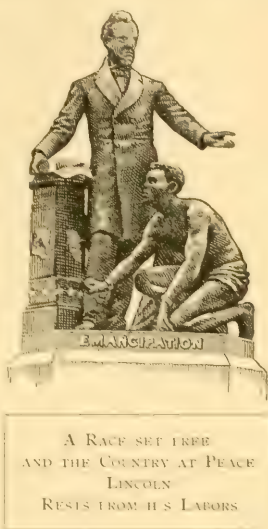
354. Andrew Johnson becomes President; Moral Effects of the War. (1865.)—A few hours after the death of Lincoln, Chief Justice Chase administered the oath to the Vice-President, Andrew Johnson, who assumed the position and duties of President in accordance with the constitutional provision. On the 26th of April General Joseph E. Johnston surrendered his army to General Sherman. On the 10th of May Jefferson Davis² was captured in Georgia, and shortly afterward the remaining Confederate forces, one after another, laid down their arms.³

¹ Appendix III.

² Davis was first taken to Savannah, and thence to Fortress Monroe, where he was kept in imprisonment about two years. He was then released on bail, Cornelius Vanderbilt, Horace Greeley, and Gerrit Smith becoming his bondsmen. He was never brought to trial. He died in New Orleans, December 6, 1880.

³ The last engagement was on the banks of the Rio Grande (May 12), and was a success for the Confederates.

Character of
Lincoln.



Andrew
Johnson
President.

THE EMANCIPATION STATUE
IN BOSTON.

Jefferson
Davis cap-
tured.

Blockade
raised, May
22, 1865.

Union ar-
mies dis-
banded,
May, 1865.

Effect of
the war.

Losses from
the war.

On the 22d of May the President issued a proclamation, raising the blockade except for the ports of Texas. These were opened a month later. On the 23d and 24th of May the armies of Grant and Sherman, before being disbanded and sent home, were reviewed in Washington by the President and the Cabinet. The column of soldiers was over thirty miles long, and was a sight the like of which had never before been seen in the United States. In a short time all the troops were disbanded except about fifty thousand, which were considered necessary to keep order. In all, about one million men were sent back to their homes in the North, and about two hundred thousand in the South.

Never had such large forces been returned to civil life with so little exhibition of lawlessness. Nor was there any desire for aught of military rule. This was a great triumph for republican principles; and yet there is no doubt that in many ways the moral tone of the whole country was lowered, — a logical result of all war, which must beget in most minds a disregard for the rights of others and for the value of human life. Many of the moral as well as the social and economic effects did not show themselves at once, but were seen later. The whole nation had become accustomed to large enterprises, and enormous financial operations by the government; this may partly account for the willingness to continue to make large outlays of public money after the war had ended, as well as for that spirit of speculation and expansion in business which helped to bring about the crisis of 1873 (sect. 375).

355. Losses from the War. (1865.) — Of the losses which can be estimated, the total is appalling. The loss of life in battle, from wounds, and from disease is thought

to have been nearly equal on both sides, and to have amounted to more than six hundred thousand in all. The loss resulting from the fact that several hundred thousand men were permanently disabled cannot be estimated. Besides this, the United States government had piled up a vast debt, the interest and principal of which were to be a heavy burden for years.¹

Losses from
the war.

The cost to the South cannot be told. The South had to count the value of the slaves, estimated to be \$2,000,000,000; the property destroyed by both armies; and the actual expenditures by the individual states and by the Confederate government. All the southern notes and bonds, having been repudiated and rendered absolutely void, were a total loss, as well as all the state, county, and city loans issued in aid of the Confederate armies.² A careful writer says, "Altogether, while the cost of the war cannot exactly be calculated, \$8,000,000,000 is a moderate estimate."

Losses in
the South.

356. Sanitary and Christian Commissions; Effect of the War. (1865.)—Soon after the beginning of the war the accounts of the sufferings of the wounded and of the needs of the soldiers on the field and in hospitals led to the establishment, in the North, of the Sanitary and the Christian Commissions. The former had its corps of officers, nurses, physicians, and attendants, whose duty was to look after the suffering, the wounded, and the needy. It had hospitals, hospital cars, and hospital boats. Its litters and ambulances were on the field before the

Sanitary and
Christian
Commis-
sions.

¹ The debt reached its highest point August 31, 1865, when it amounted to \$2,845,007,626.26. This included the "greenbacks," on which no interest is paid. Nearly \$800,000,000 of revenue had also been spent; and the cities, towns, counties, and states had also expended much in cash besides incurring debts. The payment for pensions is already without precedent, and the aggregate will be something enormous.

² See Amendment XIV. to the Constitution.

"Sanitary
Fairs."

battle was over, to care for those who needed help. Through it were distributed vast quantities of clothing, stores, and various comforts which had been prepared in northern homes. Millions of dollars to carry on this work were raised by private subscriptions and by means of "Sanitary Fairs," which were held throughout the North.

Christian
Commission.

The Christian Commission was organized to look after the moral and religious needs of the soldier, and coöperated with the Sanitary Commission. Never before had such great efforts been made to mitigate the sufferings incident to war.

Results of
the war.

The South was able to do very much less for her soldiers than the North, owing to the lack of resources.

The war settled at least two things: (1) that slavery was forever abolished; this was a result anticipated by very few; (2) that no state could leave the Union; that, in the words of Chief Justice Chase, the "Constitution looked to an indestructible union of indestructible states."

The effect abroad was to increase greatly the respect in which the United States was held by foreign nations, and to strengthen the cause of republicanism everywhere. It had been shown by both North and South that loyalty is as strong in a republic as in a monarchy.

SUMMARY.

Shortly before the end of the third year of the war General Grant was placed at the head of the United States armies. He came to Richmond and personally directed the campaign against Richmond. He was ably supported by Sheridan as a cavalry officer. The skill shown by General Lee in resisting the Union attacks was great. Sherman started on his march through Georgia, November 12, 1864, and forced his way to the sea. The blockade of the southern ports was rigidly enforced and the southern people suffered many privations.

Farragut took Mobile forts, September, 1864. The *Alabama* was destroyed by the *Kearsarge* in 1864. Lincoln was renominated and reelected in 1864 by a large majority. West Virginia was admitted as a state in 1863, and Nevada in 1864. Sherman having occupied Savannah and Charleston, turned northward to join Grant. Salmon P. Chase was appointed Chief Justice of the United States in 1864.

Richmond was occupied by Union troops April 3, 1865. General Lee surrendered to General Grant April 9, 1865. President Lincoln was assassinated April 14, 1865. Andrew Johnson the Vice-President succeeded.

The effects of the war, both political and moral, were great. The Sanitary and Christian Commissions did much for the physical and moral welfare of the Union soldiers.

For Topical Analysis see Appendix X., page xlvii.

CHAPTER XVII.

RECONSTRUCTION.

REFERENCES

A. B. Hart, *Source-Book*, Chap. xix.; H. C. Wright, *Children's Stories of American Progress*, Chap. xviii.

Character of
Andrew
Johnson.



ANDREW JOHNSON.

ANDREW JOHNSON was born in North Carolina, December 21, 1788, and removed to Tennessee in early manhood. His parents were very poor, and his early education was extremely limited; it is even said that he learned to read and write after he was married. He joined a debating society, accustomed himself to speaking, and soon was elected to the office of an abolitionist. He filled other offices, and when President he was fond of saying that he had filled in turn every political office in the gift of his countrymen, a statement which was true and much to his credit. He was elected senator after leaving the Presidency, and died while holding that position on July 31, 1875.

357. Andrew Johnson.
(1865.)—Andrew Johnson was a man of strong will, of decided convictions, and of much natural ability. Up to 1861 he was a loyal Democrat, supporting the party in all its policy. He was a strong Unionist, and was, as has been said, the only southern senator who refused to follow his state. Coming directly after Lincoln, and being placed in an extraordinarily difficult position, he was harshly judged by his contemporaries, though it must be said that his unyielding temper had much to do with the opposition he provoked. The

Republicans soon repented their choice of him as bitterly as the Whigs had repented that of Tyler.

Congress having adjourned in March until December, the President made the most of his opportunity. The condition of the South demanded some sort of government at once; and he appointed provisional governors who were to reorganize the states as soon as practicable.

Johnson believed that individuals should be punished, but the idea that a state should be kept from exercising any of its functions was contrary to his whole political bringing up. He accordingly issued proclamations of amnesty to almost every one who had been engaged in the conflict on condition of taking an oath "faithfully to support, protect, and defend the Constitution and the Union"; he restored the writ of *habeas corpus* everywhere in the North; and in general, tried to bring back everything except slavery to its condition before the war.

Johnson's plan of reconstruction.

358. Provisional Government in the South. (1865.)—

The provisional governors called conventions to which the delegates were elected by white voters. These conventions repealed the ordinances of secession; ratified the amendment to the Constitution abolishing slavery;¹ and passed resolutions declaring that no debts incurred in supporting the Confederacy should be paid. The President also recognized the provisional state governments. In the President's view, nothing more was necessary to enable the states to send senators and representatives to Congress. When that body met in December, however, it viewed the matter in a very different light.

Provisional governments in the South.

¹ Congress early in the year proposed an amendment which abolished slavery. This is known as the Thirteenth Amendment. It had not at this time been ratified by a sufficient number of states.

Views re-
garding the
freedmen.

The southern whites had reason to believe that the freed slaves would be idle and shiftless, and were naturally unwilling that such a class should be placed upon an equality with themselves. Congress, on the other hand, felt bound to protect the freedmen, as the former slaves were now called, for it was generally believed to be the intention of the southern legislatures to keep them in a condition of virtual slavery. While these facts do not justify the laws which followed, they serve to explain their enactment. Congress accordingly refused to admit the southern senators and representatives, claiming that with Congress alone rested the power to decide when the states should be fully reconstructed (Constitution, Art. I., sec. 5).

Thirteenth
Amendment
ratified,
1865.

359. Thirteenth Amendment; the President and Congress. (1865.) — The Thirteenth Amendment, having been ratified by the requisite number of states, became a part of the Constitution in December, 1865. This action did for the whole country what the Emancipation Proclamation had previously done for a part of it. It confirmed the effects of that document. The language of the amendment is taken almost without change from the Ordinance of 1787 (sect. 154). In October, 1864, Maryland had, by a small majority, adopted a new constitution which abolished slavery within her limits. Thus, after nearly a century, the United States became what Washington, Jefferson, Adams, Franklin, and others of the early days had longed that she should be — a free country.

All the
states free.

From this time the President and Congress were continually in conflict. Owing to the non-admission of the southern members, the Republicans had a full two-thirds majority in both houses of Congress, and were able to pass over the President's veto any measure which they desired (Constitution, Art. I., sect. 7).

The Civil Rights Bill, giving the freedmen the rights of citizens of the United States, was passed over the President's veto; this bill, however, did not give the right of suffrage, that matter being wholly within the authority of the states. Congress, in order to make the provisions of the Civil Rights Bill permanent, proposed the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. It also passed over the President's veto the second Freedmen's Bureau Bill, which provided for the interests of the freed slaves in many ways. All this greatly irritated the President, who, foolishly in his turn, irritated Congress by calling it "No Congress." Congress revived the grade of General of the Army, and Grant was promoted to that rank.

"Civil Rights Bill."

Freedmen's Bureau Bill.

360. Reconstruction Acts. (1867.)—The result of the fall elections was to encourage Congress in the course upon which it had entered, for it became certain that the new Congress would likewise have a two-thirds majority in opposition to the President. Accordingly a bill was passed, one of the provisions of which practically took from the President the command of the army by requiring him to issue his orders through the General of the Army, who could not be removed without the consent of the Senate.

Reconstruction Acts, 1867.

The subsequent legislation of the Congress aimed to secure suffrage to the negro and disfranchisement of the former southern leaders. In order to bring about these ends various measures called Reconstruction Acts were passed in 1867. They provided first for military government of the seceded states except Tennessee, which had been admitted to representation in Congress in 1866. Each state was to remain under military government until a convention chosen by voters, without regard to race or color, should frame a new government, acknowledging the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution. The old Con-

federate leaders were debarred from voting for members of these conventions, or taking any part in them, and the adoption of the amendment would permanently disqualify them for public office of any kind unless by special action of Congress their disqualifications should be removed (Appendix II, Constitution, Amend. XIV).

Six states
readmitted.

361. Six States admitted; Carpet-baggers. (1868.) — Six of the states, Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Louisiana, North Carolina, and South Carolina, agreed to the conditions, and their delegations to Congress were admitted in June, 1868. The four other states declined to assent.

"Carpet-
baggers."

The result in the assenting states was quite different from what had been hoped for. In some of them the freed slaves were in the majority, and although extremely ignorant, to them was committed the government of the states, the enactment of laws, and other important matters with which they were totally incompetent to deal. The natural result followed. The negroes became the tools of unscrupulous men, many of whom came from other states with so few possessions that it was said that the property of any of them could be put into a carpet-bag.

Between these "carpet-baggers," as they were called, and the ignorant negroes the southern states fared badly, for money was squandered lavishly, and much that should have gone for public uses went into private pockets. This period in the South was a most unfortunate one. But neither North nor South was wholly to blame for it. The North acted in great ignorance of the real situation; while the South was naturally reluctant to accept even the legitimate results of the war.

362. Tenure of Office Act; the President Impeached. (1867, 1868.) — Since the adoption of the Constitution it had been the practice of the Presidents to remove subor-

ordinates when occasion seemed to demand it. Now Congress feared that President Johnson might, by removal of officers of the government who differed with him in politics, impede if not render useless the acts which had been passed. So the Tenure of Office Act was passed to prevent this.¹ By this act no officer for whose appointment the consent of the Senate was needful could be removed without the consent of that body. This sweeping measure naturally roused the ire of the President, and he resolved to ignore the act. He consequently asked Secretary Stanton (August 5) to resign; upon his refusal, he was suspended. At the next session of Congress the Senate refused to confirm this action, and Stanton took possession of his office. The President, however, now removed Stanton, and ordered Lorenzo Thomas, whom he had appointed *Secretary ad interim*, to assume the duties of the office. For this action mainly, though other points were mentioned in the indictment, the House of Representatives impeached President Johnson. According to the provisions of the Constitution, he was tried by the Senate, Chief Justice Chase presiding (Art. I, ii, § 3; iii, 6). After a trial lasting from March 5 to May 16, 1868, Johnson was acquitted, those voting guilty being one less in number than the two-thirds necessary for conviction. Many, even of those politically opposed to him, thought the measure unwise, and few now defend it. This has been the only instance of impeachment of a President.

Tenure of
Office Act.

Stanton sus-
pended.

The
President
impeached.

363. Grant and Colfax elected; Amnesty. (1868).—The time had again come to nominate candidates for the Presidency. The Republican convention, justifying the acts of Congress, went before the country on that issue and nomi-

¹ The President vetoed this act, but it was passed over his veto, March 2, 1867.

nated General Grant for President, and Schuyler Colfax of Indiana, the Speaker of the House of Representatives, for Vice-President.

Democratic
platforms.

The Democratic convention attacked the measures and policy of the Republicans, demanded that the southern states should be restored to all their rights, and that the question of suffrage should be left to the individual states. Horatio Seymour of New York, and Francis P. Blair of Missouri, were chosen as candidates.

Grant and
Colfax
elected,
1868.

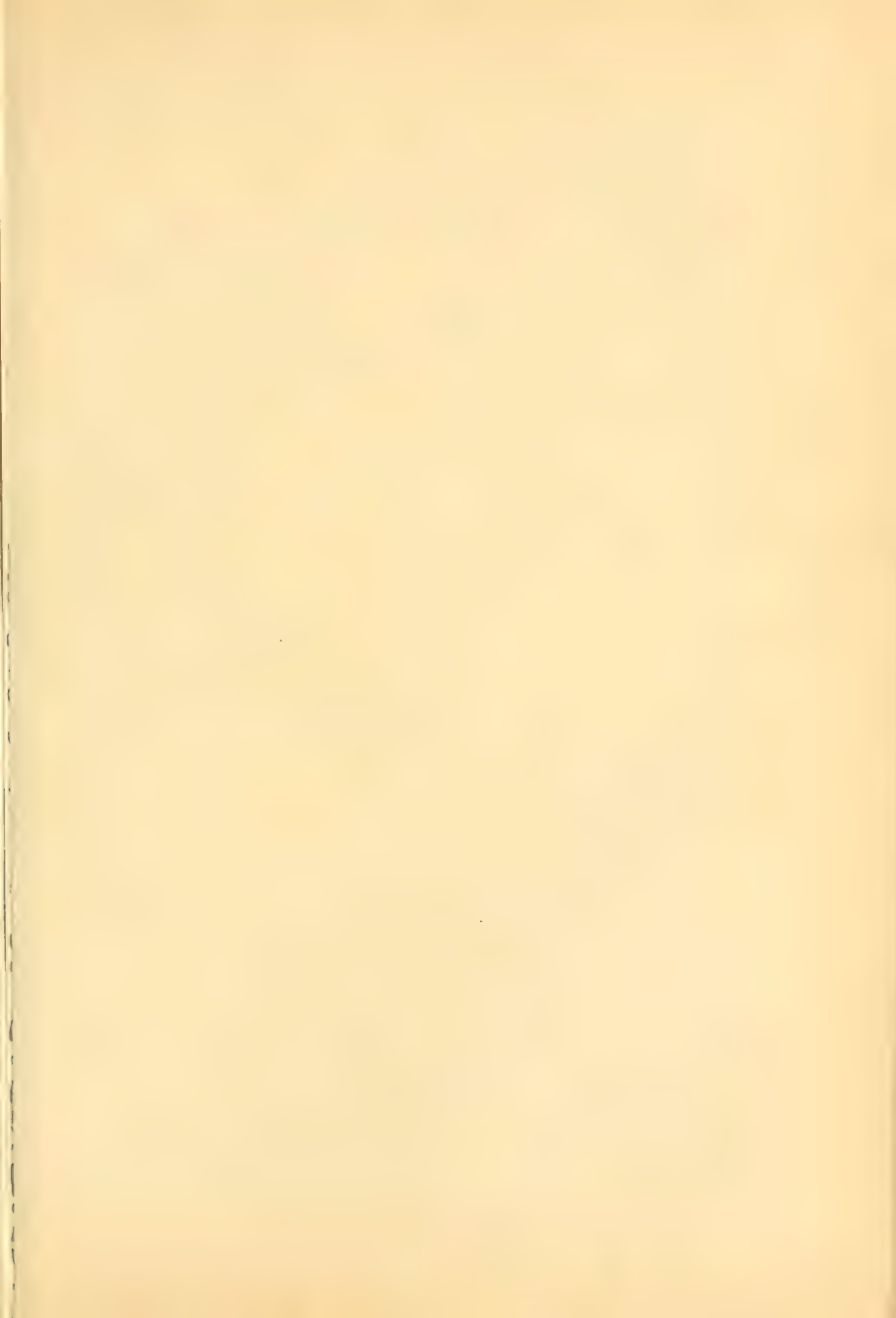
At the election in November, 1868, Grant and Colfax received a large majority of both the electoral and popular votes.

Amnesty.

President Johnson, on Christmas Day, 1868, issued a proclamation of "full pardon and amnesty" to those who had been concerned in the "late rebellion." This did not restore political rights, as such restoration must be made by Congress. The Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution had forbidden slavery; the Fourteenth had given the freedmen citizenship; and now Congress proposed the Fifteenth, which would give the freedmen the right of suffrage.

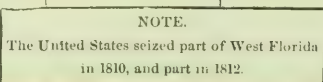
Atlantic
cable,
1860.

364. Atlantic Telegraph Cable. (1866.) Alaska Bought. (1867.)—Political matters, though of surpassing interest, were not the only ones to claim attention during President Johnson's administration. Cyrus W. Field, of New York, to whom the first Atlantic cable had been due (sect. 290), was by no means discouraged by its failure. He had demonstrated the possibility of transmitting messages under the ocean. He set to work to remedy the defects of the early cables, and in the summer of 1866 the steamship *Great Eastern*, having on board a new cable made in England, set sail for America. The cable was successfully laid, and on the 27th of July the western end was landed at Heart's Content, Newfoundland, and messages





1783-1867





were exchanged with Valentia Bay, Ireland. Telegraphic communication between the old world and the new has been uninterrupted since 1866. Other cables were laid, and in 1900, there were fourteen lines in operation across the North Atlantic alone. The rates of transmission have been so much reduced by competition that it is within the means of almost every one to send messages, while the newspaper press has many columns of news cabled every day.¹

Cables
across the
Atlantic.

In 1867, the possessions of Russia in America were bought by the United States for \$7,200,000. The territory amounted to about 577,390 square miles.² At the time it was thought by many a very foolish bargain, and Secretary Seward, to whom the purchase was largely due, was made the object of much ridicule. Time, however, has abundantly justified his action. Alaska, as the territory was named, has been discovered to be a land rich in mineral wealth and in valuable forests, while the climate though cold is not disagreeable. It has already become a place of resort for summer tourists on account of the wonderful scenery, its mountains and glaciers rivalling those of Switzerland, while in 1897 the discovery of gold in the Klondike region, and in 1900 at Cape Nome caused a large influx of miners and settlers.

Alaska
bought from
Russia,
1867.

As the Aleutian Islands were included in the Alaskan purchase, the western limit of the United States was extended to longitude 173° east from Greenwich, making the possessions of the United States cover one hundred and twenty degrees of longitude.

¹ Methods of trade have been revolutionized by the cable, as by it the market prices of the world are daily reported in the newspaper press.

² This territory differs from previous annexations in that no part of it touches the boundaries of the United States.

Nebraska a
state, 1867.

Nebraska, which had been organized as a territory under the Kansas-Nebraska Act in 1854 (sect. 280), was admitted as a state in 1867, with the proviso that negro suffrage should be allowed.

French in
Mexico,
1861-1867.

365. French in Mexico; Maximilian. (1861-1867.)— In 1861 France, England, and Spain had jointly interfered in the affairs of Mexico on the ground of non-payment of her bonds. England soon saw that Napoleon III., the Emperor of France, had political designs in the movement, and withdrew from the alliance. Spain also refused to have anything more to do with the matter. Napoleon, however, went on with his plans, in spite of the protest of Secretary Seward that such action would be resented by the United States as contrary to the policy laid down in the Monroe Doctrine (sect. 208). French troops were sent to Mexico, the republican government was overturned, and an empire proclaimed.

Maximilian.

Napoleon's purpose was to found in Mexico a grand empire tributary to France. For emperor he fixed upon Maximilian, a nephew of the Emperor of Austria. Deceived by deputations of Mexicans who were under the influence of the French, Maximilian was persuaded to accept the offer, and in the spring of 1864 entered the city of Mexico. He soon quarrelled with the party which had supported him, but by the aid of the French troops he maintained his power in the capital and in some of the other cities.

In 1865 the United States government, freed from the Civil War, again demanded of the French emperor the withdrawal of his troops. This time Napoleon deemed it wise to comply. Maximilian, however, thought he could get along without the support of the French; but the troops of the Mexican republic captured him in 1867, and,

though the United States interceded for him, he was shot together with two native Mexican generals who had espoused his cause.¹ The Mexican republic was reëstablished.

Maximilian shot, 1867.

366. Expatriation; Chinese Treaty; Pacific Railroad; San Domingo. (1868-1876.) — In 1868 the historian, George Bancroft, then United States minister to the North German Confederation, negotiated with that power a treaty by which the right of expatriation was acknowledged; that is, the German government recognized that a citizen of one country has a right to sever his allegiance to it and become a citizen of another country. This principle the United States had upheld from the very first, but the European nations had been slow to accept it. It was not until two years later (1870) that England, by the passage of her Naturalization Act, adopted the principle, and gave up what she had claimed as a right, and had practised during the Revolutionary War and the War of 1812.²

Treaty with Germany, 1868.

During the same year, 1868, a treaty with China was negotiated through Anson Burlingame, who had been minister to that country, but was now acting as agent for China. This was the first treaty which that country had ever, of its own accord, offered to make with a foreign nation.

Treaty with China, 1868.

An early event of Grant's administration was the completion of the Pacific Railroad at Ogden, Utah, May 10, 1869. This great work, accomplished by means of very liberal grants by Congress, was the first of those chains

Completion of Pacific Railroad, 1869.

¹ Maximilian's wife Carlotta, a princess of Belgium, who felt herself in some degree responsible for his remaining in Mexico after the withdrawal of the French troops, became insane through grief.

² Most of the European nations have followed the example of Germany and England.

Pacific Rail-
road.

which bind the two extremes of the country together, and which help to make a union under one government possible. By means of this and other railroads to the Pacific which have since been built, communication with the western states is easier and more rapid than that between the cities of Boston and Washington in the early part of the century. Josiah Quincy, who in 1811 protested against



COMPLETION OF THE PACIFIC RAILROAD.

Meeting of the locomotives of the Union and of the Central Pacific Railroads.
From a photograph.

the admission of Louisiana as a state, partly because it would make the country too large to be governed as a republic, lived to see representatives from Oregon in Congress, and the Atlantic and Pacific bound together by telegraph and railroad.

San
Domingo.

President Grant strongly recommended to Congress the annexation of San Domingo, part of the island of Haiti. He urged that it would be of great advantage to the United

States as a coaling station for war vessels, that it was exceedingly fertile, and that under the care of the United States its people would rapidly increase in intelligence and in thrift. Congress did not approve the scheme, feeling that the country had enough to care for in settling the difficult questions in the South; and in this they represented the popular opinion.

367. **“Ku Klux Klan.”** (1868-1871.) **All States represented in Congress.** (1871.) — About the time of the Presidential election of 1868 a secret organization arose in the South, known as the “Ku Klux Klan.” Originally started to frighten the superstitious colored people, it soon became a political society, whose purpose was to terrify the freedmen, and to intimidate the “carpet-baggers” and their supporters. Some of its members, or pretended members, went on from this to commit outrages of various kinds, even murder. The operations were extensive enough to demand the attention of Congress, which passed severe laws to suppress the order, and appointed an investigating committee which made a voluminous report. At last the law-abiding citizens of all political affinities united in suppressing the organization. The Ku Klux Klan was active chiefly in North Carolina, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Arkansas.

Grant advises annexation of San Domingo.

“Ku Klux Klan.”

The efforts of the white population of the South were directed toward getting control of the state legislatures, in order to revise the election laws. It was not long before this end had been practically gained in most of the reconstructed states.

Whites control southern legislatures.

By 1869 all the southern states had been readmitted to representation in Congress except Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, and Texas. These were admitted in the next year, so that in January, 1871, for the first time since

1860, every state was represented in Congress. The Supreme Court of the United States had decided, in 1869, in favor of the legality of the reconstruction measures of Congress. The court declared that the states had never been out of the Union, but that the Confederate government was "a temporary military dominion, in which the lawful authority was entirely suspended."

Fifteenth
Amendment
adopted,
1870.

Civil Rights
Act.

"Force
Bill."

368. Fifteenth Amendment; Civil Rights and Election Acts. (1870-1871.) — The Fifteenth Amendment, having been ratified by the requisite number of states, was proclaimed August 22, 1870.¹ It was one thing to adopt amendments, but quite another thing to put them in force. Accordingly Congress, believing that in a great part of the South they were a dead letter, passed one law after another to enforce them. On this ground were passed the Civil Rights Act (1870), designed to apply to the Fifteenth Amendment, and the Election Act (1870), which regulated all the national elections, making the manner of the election uniform, and the day of the election the same throughout the country.² Another bill was the Enforcement Act (1871), or, as it was generally called, the "Force Bill." This bill was somewhat similar to the Sedition Act of 1798 (sect. 166), and was resented by the South and disapproved of by many in the North, even among the Republicans. It divided the latter party, and ultimately drove many permanently out of its ranks. A large committee was appointed by Congress to inquire into the condition of the southern states.

Grant and Colfax were inaugurated March 4, 1869.

¹ Appendix II., Constitution.

² Congress afterward modified the law in regard to two or three states.

SUMMARY.

President Johnson appointed provisional governors in the southern states, and formed a plan for the reconstruction of the state governments. Congress did not approve the President's plans and so passed the "Reconstruction Acts" over his veto. Six states were admitted to representation in Congress in 1868. The quarrel between the President and Congress increased, and the "Tenure of Office Act" was passed to limit the power of the President. Johnson was impeached, but was acquitted. In 1868 General Grant was elected President by a large majority. The Atlantic cable was successfully laid in 1866. Alaska was bought in 1867. The French rule in Mexico came to an end in 1867, and Maximilian was shot. New treaties recognizing expatriation were made with European nations. The Pacific railroad was opened in 1869. The troubles in the South continued and were aggravated by the "Ku Klux Klan." All the states were represented in Congress by 1871. The Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution was adopted in 1870. Grant and Colfax were inaugurated in 1869.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xlvii.

CHAPTER XVIII.

THE NEW NATION.

REFERENCES.

A. B. Hart, *Source-Book*, pp. 352-360; G. B. Grinnell, *The Story of the Indian*; E. B. Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century in the United States*, Vol. I.

Indian
Peace
Policy.

369. The Indian Peace Policy. (1869.) — One of the pleasantest features of Grant's first administration is the effort which he made to deal justly with the Indians. He announced in his first annual message that he had begun "a new policy toward these wards of the nation by giving the management of a few reservations of Indians to members of the Society of Friends," which body since the days of William Penn had taken special interest in the Indians and had lived peaceably with them. The Society of Friends was to nominate agents to the President, and if approved by him they were appointed. Very soon other reservations were similarly intrusted to other religious denominations.

The President recommended "liberal appropriations to carry out the Indian peace policy, not only because it is humane, Christianlike, and economical, but because it is right." The results of this "Peace Policy," as it was called, so far as it was carried out, were such as to give great encouragement to its friends. But years of harsh and unjust treatment by the whites had made the Indian slow to believe in the reality of the change. Moreover,

the Indian contractors, fearing lest their gains would cease, exerted their great influence to thwart and injure the new policy. Many other persons considered it unpractical, and not a few echoed the cruel saying, "The only good Indian is a dead Indian." There is, however, reason to believe that President Grant's action did much to bring the whole question before the country and to interest good citizens everywhere in the cause of the redman.

370. Alabama Claims; Geneva Arbitration. (1871.) — Treaty of Washington, 1871.

Though the United States had promptly claimed damages from Great Britain for injuries inflicted upon American commerce by the *Alabama* and other Confederate war vessels fitted out in English ports (sect. 329), the British government for a long time declined to consider the question.



THE CRUISER "ALABAMA."

From a drawing which Captain Semmes pronounced correct.

At last, after the Senate had refused to ratify one treaty, another was negotiated in 1871 at Washington between commissioners of both nations.

In the treaty of Washington, as it was called, it was agreed that all questions about which there was any dispute between the two nations should be left to arbitration. The Alabama Claims were to be referred to five arbitrators, one to be appointed by the United States, one by Great Britain, one by Italy, one by Switzerland, and one by Brazil. A majority of these was to decide questions brought before them.¹

Alabama
Claims.

¹ The United States appointed Charles Francis Adams, who had been the United States minister to London during the Civil War, and was thoroughly

Fishery
Claims.

The Fishery Claims of Canada upon the United States were referred for settlement to a commission selected by Great Britain and the United States; and the question of the true boundary between Washington Territory and British Columbia¹ was left to the absolute decision of the Emperor of Germany. The fact that two of the most powerful nations in the world were willing to leave such important matters to arbitration marked a great advance in civilization; the fact that these important questions were all peaceably settled marked a still greater triumph of justice and good sense.

Arbitration.

Geneva
award.

371. Award at Geneva; Boundary Dispute. (1872.) Fishery Question. (1877.) — The Alabama Commission met at Geneva, Switzerland, as had been arranged, and after each nation had presented its case, rendered its decision September 14, 1872, awarding the United States \$15,500,000 in compensation for the damages caused by the depredations of the *Alabama* and the *Florida* and their tenders. The American claim for indirect damages was not allowed by the commission. Though England was not pleased with the verdict, the large sum was promptly paid to the representative of the United States.

Northwest
boundary.

The Emperor of Germany decided (1872) the Northwest boundary dispute in favor of the United States. Thus, after nearly a century, the long line of division between the British possessions and the United States was peaceably determined.

The Fisheries Commission met at Halifax, Nova Scotia,

familiar with the whole matter; Great Britain appointed Sir Alexander Cockburn, then the Lord Chief Justice of England; Italy, Count Sclopis; Switzerland, her Ex-President Staempfli; and Brazil, Vicomte d'Itajuba.

¹ This boundary had been a disputed point since the Treaty of 1842 (sect. 250).

and (1877) awarded Great Britain \$5,500,000 in compensation for the extra advantages accruing to the United States from the fishery clauses of the existing treaties. In the United States this was universally felt to be greatly in excess of the real sum due, and the House of Representatives at one time threatened to refuse to make the necessary appropriation, but better counsels prevailed, the appropriation was authorized, and the payment was made without unnecessary delay.

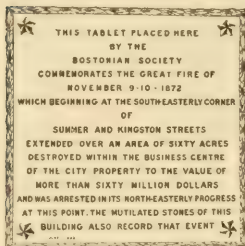
Fishery
award.

372. Chicago and Boston Fires. (1871, 1872.)—On the evening of October 9, 1871, a fire broke out in a stable in Chicago, started, it was said, from a coal-oil lamp which a cow kicked over. The fire quickly spread, until, aided by a high wind, it passed beyond control, and for two days it raged through the richest and best parts of the city, not stopping until the lake was reached. More than three square miles were burned over, between two and three hundred persons lost their lives, property to the amount of two hundred million dollars was destroyed, and about one hundred thousand people were rendered homeless. One of the most striking illustrations of the rapid communication between different parts of the world, and also of the increasing sympathy of men for men, is the fact that news of the great disaster had hardly been telegraphed to other parts of the country before collections for the aid of the sufferers were begun, and provisions, clothing, and supplies of every kind that might be needed were sent by railroad. Contributions from every state in the Union, and from beyond the sea, even from Japan, kept pouring in to help the stricken city; no such widespread practical sympathy had ever been shown before. About a year later, in November, 1872, Boston, Massachusetts, also suffered from a great fire; about sixty-five acres were burned

Chicago
fire, 1871.

Boston fire,
1872.

over, and property valued at nearly eighty million dollars was destroyed. About the time of the Chicago fire, great forest fires occurred in Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Michigan. In Wisconsin alone it was estimated that fifteen hundred people were burned to death.



TABLET COMMEMORATING
THE BOSTON FIRE.

Amnesty
Bill.

373. Amnesty Bill ; Grant renominated ; Liberal Republicans ; Democrats. (1872.)—In May, 1872, Congress passed an Amnesty Bill by which the political disabilities

of the former Confederates were removed. Some exceptions of prominent persons were made, but not more than three hundred and fifty in all.

Grant re-
nominated,
1872.

As the time for the Presidential election drew near, the majority of the Republican party were in favor of nominating President Grant for a second term. Though there had been many things connected with his administration which were objectionable, the majority of the people had perfect confidence in his personal integrity. He was accordingly nominated, with Henry Wilson of Massachusetts, for Vice-President. There was, however, a minority of the party which strongly disapproved of the use of the national troops in the South to help the reconstructed governments maintain their power, and there were some who believed from scandals in connection with the national administration that a change was necessary. Sympathizers with these views called themselves Liberal Republicans, and in a state election, succeeded in carrying Missouri. Encouraged by this, they started a national organization and nominated Horace Greeley of New York, the editor of the *New York Tribune*, for President, and

Liberal
Republicans
nominate
Greeley.

B. Gratz Brown of Missouri for Vice-President. The Democratic party, having no great issue to present, adopted the candidates and platform of the Liberal Republicans. In the election that followed, Grant and Wilson were elected by a large majority of the popular and of the electoral vote. Horace Greeley, worn out by the excitement and by ill health, died soon after the election.

374. "Modoc War." —

In 1872 there was a war with the Modoc Indians of southern Oregon. This tribe had been badly treated some years previously, and when new trouble began, the old wrongs were remembered. After a war of nearly a year, three commissioners with a flag of truce visited the tribes in their retreat among the lava beds, and while there two of them were killed. One of the victims was General Canby of the United States Army. The Indians committed these murders not only because the commissioners had refused to yield to their demands, but also to avenge some of the tribe who, while under a flag of truce, had been killed by United States troops twenty years before. At great expense and only after a



"Modoc War," 1872.

HORACE GREELEY.

HORACE GREELEY was born in New Hampshire, February 3, 1811. He was the son of a small farmer, and was taken to Vermont in early childhood. He learned printing, and worked at his trade for about four years, and then went to New York City in 1831. He arrived with only ten dollars in his pocket. He obtained employment, and after many struggles attained success. He founded the New York *Daily Tribune* in 1841. He was a strong Whig. He was one of the bondsmen for Jefferson Davis in 1867. In 1872 he was candidate for President, but was overwhelmingly defeated. He died November 29, 1872.

heavy loss of life, the tribe was completely conquered, and the few who were left were removed to Indian Territory.¹

Crisis of
1873.

375. Commercial Crisis of 1873.—The effect of the Civil War upon business and financial matters was not clearly seen until 1873. Accustomed to lavish expenditure of money during the conflict, and encouraged by the success of the first Pacific Railroad, as well as by large crops, the country again entered upon a period of great enterprise, particularly in railroad building. In the four years of Grant's first administration the railroad mileage of the United States was increased more than fifty per cent, and the total had become equal to that of all Europe. A condition of affairs very similar to that in 1857 prevailed; a prominent banking house in Philadelphia, which was largely interested in the Northern Pacific Railroad, failed, and one of the worst and most widespread financial panics which this country has ever seen was precipitated. It was six years before the country fully recovered from its effects.

Temperance
crusade in
Ohio.

376. Temperance Crusade in Ohio. (1873, 1874.)—During the winter of 1873-1874 many of the women of Ohio, deeply interested in the temperance movement, carried on a "crusade," as it was called, against the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors. Drinking-saloons were visited, and various means of persuasion and personal influence were used to induce the saloon-keepers to give up the business. The movement extended to Indiana

¹ The subsequent history of the remnants of this tribe is a very interesting one. Some of them were put under the care of an honest agent; and through the kindness and the judicious treatment of this man and his wife, these Indians, once among the wildest and most intractable, have become quiet and law-abiding.

and other western states, and also to New York, particularly in Brooklyn. Accompanied at times by objectionable features, the movement no doubt called increased attention to the evils resulting from the use of intoxicating liquor as a beverage. Partly as a result of this movement was the rise of the large and influential organization known as the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (1874). The crusade also was helpful in the establishment of a national Prohibition party a few years afterward.

Woman's
Christian
Temperance
Union.



FRANCES WILLARD.

377. Weather Bureau. (1870.)

— In 1870 Congress established the Weather Bureau for the purpose of making accurate observations of the weather, and publishing the results of the observations in the shape of "indications" of approaching storms, fine weather, or changes, as the case might be. Records of the temperature, moisture, heights of rivers, and other matters of interest are made and published. As the result of careful observation and the comparison of many records, the "indications" published are found trustworthy in a large majority of cases. These weather reports have been of great service in warning farmers, and also sailors in port, of

FRANCES ELIZABETH WILLARD was born in New York, September 28, 1839. She graduated at the Northwestern Female College, Evanston, Illinois, in 1859. She became a teacher and filled high positions. From 1871 to 1874 she was Professor of *Æsthetics* in Northwestern University and Dean of the Woman's College. She left the profession of teaching in 1874 to identify herself with the Woman's Christian Temperance Union. She was Secretary of the national organization, 1874 to 1879, and President, 1879 till her death. It is in connection with this organization that she is best known, and it was largely through her ability and personal influence that the organization was placed on a firm foundation. She died in New York City, February 18, 1898.

Weather
Bureau.

approaching storms, and have prevented much loss of property.¹

Credit
Mobilier.

378. **Credit Mobilier (1872); "Franking" abolished; "Salary Grab" (1872).** — During the Presidential campaign many charges of corruption had been brought against the Republican party. One of the charges was that members of Congress had been bribed to pass measures favorable to the Union Pacific Railroad, by presents of stock in a corporation known as the Credit Mobilier,² a company which had undertaken the construction of the Union Pacific Railroad. Congress ordered an investigation, the result of which was that two of the members of the House of Representatives were condemned for the part which they had taken. Others suffered much in public estimation for their connection with the enterprise, and retired, perforce, from political life.

Franking
abolished.

Prior to 1873 the members of Congress, and very many of the government officials, had the privilege of "franking" letters, and indeed all matter which could be sent through the mails.³ Mail matter addressed to congressmen and officials was likewise free. This privilege was so grossly abused that public opinion demanded a revision of the law, which was changed so that only publications authorized by Congress, and communications on strictly official business of the government departments could be

¹ Placed at first under the care of the Signal Service of the army, the Weather Bureau was, by order of Congress, transferred to the Agricultural Department, July 1, 1891.

² Credit Mobilier is a French phrase for credit on movable or personal property.

³ By writing the name of the sender on the outside of the letter or package, it was insured free carriage; this was "to frank." The widows of Presidents Grant and Garfield, and a few others, were given the privilege of "franking."

sent free. An allowance for postage was, however, made to each congressman.

The same Congress also raised the salary of many of the officials of the government; that of the President of the United States was raised to \$50,000 a year, and that of the congressmen to \$7500. In the case of congressmen the bill was made to apply to the current salaries, and the increase to date back to the beginning of the Congress. This was followed by such a storm of popular disapproval that almost all the congressmen who had taken advantage of the new law returned the excess over the old salary to the Treasury. The bill, so far as congressmen was concerned, was repealed at the next session. Congress, however, had done only what previous Congresses had done. In itself the advance in the salary was doubtless justifiable, and had it been unaccompanied by the "Back Salary Grab," as it was called, it is not likely that the action would have provoked criticism.

Salaries raised.

"Back Salary Grab."

379. Republican Reverses. (1874.) — In 1874 the President was called upon so frequently for assistance in preserving order in the reconstructed states (Constitution, Art. IV., sect. 4) that the patience of the country, as well as that of the President, was greatly tried. The belief was growing that the United States troops should no longer be used for supporting state factions, and that it was quite time to withdraw Federal troops from the reconstructed states. This feeling was shown very decidedly in the fall elections of 1874, when states which had been considered surely Republican elected Democratic officers and legislatures, and the Republican majority of 107 in the House of Representatives was turned into a Democratic majority of 74. This political upheaval, showing a growing independence of thought, was due partly to

United States troops in the South.

Republicans defeated.

southern affairs, and partly to the political corruption which had been unearthed.

Added to these influences it is not unlikely that the financial panic of the preceding year had its effect, for it is a curious fact, particularly in republics, that the party holding the reins of government for the time being is often held responsible for things wholly beyond its power to control. Thus a failure in crops will sometimes turn a party out of office.

Frauds on
the govern-
ment.

380. Whiskey Frauds; Resumption Act. (1875.) — In 1875 extensive frauds in connection with the internal revenue tax on whiskey were discovered, implicating officers of the government, some of whom were convicted on trial. The result of these revelations of corruption and dishonesty was a widespread and exaggerated belief in the inefficiency and corruption of government officers generally.

Redemption
Act.

On January 14, 1875, Congress passed an act providing that on and after the first day of January, 1876, the Secretary of the Treasury should redeem in gold coin all bills of the United States presented to the Treasury. When this act was passed many thought it a mere political device, not believing it possible for the country to resume specie payment so soon (sect. 392).

Centennial
exhibition,
1876.

381. Centennial Exhibition; Telephone. (1876.) — As the one hundredth anniversary of the independence of the United States approached, it was determined to celebrate it by holding a grand exhibition in the city of Philadelphia, where independence had been proclaimed. In aid of this enterprise Congress voted an appropriation of \$1,500,000. The other nations of the world were invited to take part in the exhibition, and the result was a truly international enterprise. One of the largest of the foreign displays

was that of Great Britain, a pleasing testimony to the good feeling existing between the two great English-speaking nations of the world, in spite of the past occasions for differences.

The centennial exhibition was kept open from May 10 to November 1, 1876, more than ten million visitors being admitted. The exhibition had a great educational value. It brought the results of industry and invention before the people to a degree impossible by other means, instructed them in the knowledge of the products of their own and other countries, and greatly educated the taste of the whole community. The United States surpassed all other nations in the variety and usefulness of inventions; among the most striking of these were the practical application of electricity for illuminating purposes, and the telephone.¹

Electricity
and the
telephone.

382. "Sioux War"; Colorado Admitted. (1876.) — Again there was trouble with the Indians. The Sioux tribe had been given a reservation near the Black Hills in Dakota on which to live. Gold was discovered in this region, and at once great numbers of white settlers and miners entered the reservation. The Sioux, under the lead of their chief, Sitting Bull, resisted and retaliated upon the settlers in Montana and Wyoming. The Sioux had already refused to give up their reservation and retire to the Indian Territory. A considerable force was sent against them; and in the course of the war General Custer with a small band of soldiers rashly following the Indians, was attacked by a greatly superior force, and he and all his men were killed. The tribe, however, was soon over-

Sioux War.

¹ The invention of the telephone has been claimed by several persons, but to Alexander Graham Bell, of Massachusetts, seems to belong the credit of the invention of a practical instrument.

powered, and Sitting Bull and the remnant fled across the border into Canada.

Colorado
admitted,
1876.

Colorado was admitted as a state in 1876, and hence is known as the "Centennial State." Its chief interest is mining, but it is well adapted to grazing, and in many parts to agriculture. The dryness of its atmosphere has made it a great health resort. Its growth in population and wealth has been rapid, the Pacific Railroads having done much to make this growth possible.

Secretary
Belknap
impeached.

383. Impeachment of Belknap; Nomination of Presidential Candidates. (1876.)—At the Presidential election in 1876 there seemed no great political questions before the country; the Republicans reaffirmed their old platform and dwelt upon what the party had done in the past. The Democrats, encouraged by their successes in 1874, attacked the Republicans vigorously for the mistakes that had been made, and for the political corruption that had been disclosed. Additional force was given to the accusations, by a charge brought against the Secretary of War, W. W. Belknap, of receiving bribes in relation to the appointment of office-holders. Belknap was impeached by the House of Representatives, but as he resigned the office before the impeachment, there was some question as to the power of Congress to take such action after his resignation had been accepted by the President. As a two-thirds majority did not vote for conviction, the prosecution failed.

"Green-
back"
party.

An interesting feature of the campaign, showing the drifts and currents of public opinion, was the appearance in the field of two other parties with candidates. These were, first, the National Greenback party, which held that the Resumption Act (sect. 380) should be repealed, and that the currency of the country should be paper money,

convertible at the will of the holder into United States bonds bearing 3.65 per cent annual interest,¹ secondly, the National Prohibition party, which called for the prohibition of the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors for a beverage.

Prohibition party.

After a bitter contest in the convention, the Republican factions compromised by nominating Rutherford B. Hayes of Ohio for President, and William A. Wheeler of New York for Vice-President. The Democratic convention, rehearsing the shortcomings of the Republicans and demanding the speedy repeal of the Resumption Act, nominated Samuel J. Tilden of New York for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana for Vice-President. The campaign was an exciting one. After the election day it was found that the result was exceedingly close, depending chiefly upon the votes of four states, South Carolina, Florida, Louisiana, and Oregon. In each there was a dispute as to the electoral vote. To succeed, the Republicans must secure the vote of every one of these states.

Hayes nominated, 1876.

Disputed election, 1876.

384. Returning Boards. (1876, 1877.) — During the reconstruction period in the South, one feature of the legislation had been the creation of committees called "Returning Boards," whose duties were to receive the election returns from the various parts of the state and count the number of votes for the different candidates. The discretionary power given to these boards was very great, and from their decision there was no appeal.

Returning Boards.

On the face of the returns in both Florida and Louisiana, the Democrats had a majority of votes; but the Returning Boards in these states, having Republican majorities in each case, threw out so many votes on the ground of

Returns in Florida and Louisiana.

¹ That is, that the interest on each \$100 should be one cent per day.

Returns in
Florida and
Louisiana.

intimidation of voters — a legal excuse if true — that both states were given to the Republicans. The Democrats claimed that they had been cheated out of the election by fraud. The Republicans were equally strong in declaring that their candidates were legally and justly chosen. Congress had exercised for a long time the right to decide disputed electoral votes ; at this time, however, the Senate and House were controlled by different parties, and there seemed no hope of an agreement, as neither house would consent to any plan which would surely seat the opposing candidate. "Never since the formation of the government, nor even in the darkest days of the Civil War, were there such anxious forebodings among thoughtful men as prevailed for some days in January, 1877."

Electoral
Commission.

385. Electoral Commission. (1877.)—Finally the sober-minded men of both parties in Congress united upon a plan to settle the dispute, which after much discussion was accepted by Congress and the President. This was, that a "Joint High Commission" should be appointed, to which all questions relative to points concerning the electoral votes upon which the two houses of Congress could not agree, should be referred, for a final decision. This commission was to consist of fifteen ; five to be chosen by the Senate and five by the House of Representatives, four to be Justices of the Supreme Court, and these last to choose another justice of the same court to complete the fifteen.

It was so arranged that the fourteen were equally divided between the two political parties ; and it was expected that the justices would choose as their associate, Justice David Davis, who was classed as an independent in politics, and whose views no one knew. Just at this time, however, Davis was elected senator for the state of Illinois ; and it was deemed unsuitable for him to act on the commission.

The justices accordingly chose another of the associates in his place. This one happened to be Republican in his views, so the commission was constituted of eight Republicans and seven Democrats.

386. Decision in Favor of Republicans. (1877.)—When the first disputed case came up before it, the commission decided, eight to seven,¹ that it would not go behind the returns of the Returning Boards and investigate the local proceedings in the contested states. This decision practically gave the election to the Republicans. On all the important points which came before it, the commission decided in favor of the Republican candidates, who were accordingly declared elected early on the morning of the third of March. Thus one of the greatest dangers to which the country has ever been exposed was peaceably averted.¹ "It has been reserved for a government of the people, where the right of suffrage is universal, to give to the world the first example in history of a great nation, in the midst of the struggle of opposing parties for power, hushing its party tumults to yield the issue of the contest to adjustment according to the forms of law."

Decision in favor of the Republicans.

The decision of the commission not to go behind the returns was a wise one. Any attempt to investigate the alleged frauds would have led to endless trouble and dangerous delay, resulting in no legal government, as the investigation would necessarily have lasted long after the 4th of March, the time for a new administration to enter office. The acquiescence of the Democratic candidates and of their party in the decision is worthy of great praise.

The decision wise.

¹ That the decision should have been in accord with the political views of the majority was to be expected. Such has been the almost universal experience in England and other countries. There were 185 electoral votes for Hayes and Wheeler, and 184 for Tilden and Hendricks.

SUMMARY.

The "Indian peace policy" was begun by General Grant. By the Treaty of Washington, 1871, all claims arising from the depredations of the *Alabama* and other Confederate cruisers fitted out in Great Britain were referred to arbitration. The arbitrators met at Geneva, Switzerland, and awarded the United States \$15,500,000. Important questions regarding the Northwestern boundary, and the Newfoundland fisheries were also determined by arbitration. Great fires occurred in Chicago, 1871, and in Boston, 1872. Grant was renominated and re-elected, 1872. There were troubles with the Modoc Indians. A great commercial crisis took place in 1873. An active temperance movement was begun in the same year. The United States Weather Bureau was established in 1870. There were many charges of corruption among government officials and among congressmen. These led to the impeachment of W. W. Belknap, Secretary of War, and to the Credit Mobilier investigations. The Democrats were successful in the elections of 1874. An act was passed in 1875, providing for the resumption of specie payments January 1, 1876. The Centennial Exposition was held at Philadelphia, 1876. The Presidential campaign was an exciting one, and the choice turned on one vote. After much discussion, the question was referred to the Electoral Commission which decided by a vote of seven to eight in favor of the Republican candidates, Hayes and Wheeler.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xlviii.

CHAPTER XIX.

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.

REFERENCES.

A. B. Hart, *Source-Book*, pp. 360-372; E. B. Andrews, *Last Quarter-Century in the United States*, Vol. I.

387. Hayes and his Administration. (1877-1881.)

Rutherford B. Hayes was a man of sterling integrity. He was an advocate of civil service reform, of the early resumption of specie payments, and of a policy toward the South that would treat all classes with justice. The inauguration passed off peacefully, and the country quietly accepted the result. President Hayes withdrew the few troops still left in the South, the whites assumed complete control, and the South became solidly Democratic.¹



President
Hayes,
1877.

RUTHERFORD B. HAYES.

RUTHERFORD BURCHARD HAYES was born in Ohio, October 4, 1822. He graduated at Kenyon College, Ohio, and studied law. He enlisted in 1861, and served with distinction, rising to the rank of major general of volunteers. He was representative in Congress 1865, 1867; governor of Ohio 1867-1871, 1874-1876. Was elected President in 1876 and served 1877-1881. He died January 17, 1893.

¹ It has been charged that Hayes, by acknowledging the Democratic governments in the disputed states, practically impugned his own title. However this may be, he was bound to accept the decision of Congress which declared that he was legally elected.

Administra-
tion of
Hayes.

The administration of Hayes was a welcome calm after the troubled years immediately following the Civil War. Void of any events of striking character, it has often been spoken of as "a colorless administration." President Hayes occupied an exceedingly difficult position, which he filled with dignity and with skill; and his influence was always exerted on the side of morality, justice, reform, good government, and sound principles of finance. His administration was a great credit to the country.

Silver Bill
of 1873.

388. Silver Bill. (1878.)—In 1870, in order to strengthen the credit of the government, Congress had made all bonds payable in coin, and in an act passed February 12, 1873, in which the list of coins to be issued from the national mints was revised, the old silver dollar, which had been out of general circulation for many years, was dropped. The silver dollar was intrinsically worth more than the gold dollar; and under such circumstances there was no reason for continuing its coinage.

Bland Bill,
1878.

Shortly after the passage of this bill, by which silver was said to be "demonetized,"¹ the production of silver was greatly increased by the discovery of new and rich mines in Nevada and elsewhere. The effect of this increased production was to make the value of silver in comparison with gold fall rapidly and steadily. Many, especially those who lived in the western and silver-producing states, now wished silver to be restored as a legal tender. A bill known as the Bland Bill, from the name of the congressman who introduced it, was passed, providing for the recoinage of the silver dollar of 412½ grains, making it a legal tender, and requiring the government to coin not less than \$2,000,000, or more

¹ To demonetize is to withdraw from use as money; the coin is then no longer a legal tender in payment of debts.

than \$4,000,000, a month.¹ The value of silver had fallen so much by this time that silver dollars of the weight proposed would be worth only ninety-two cents in gold. The advocates of the bill believed that its passage would raise the value of silver. President Hayes vetoed the bill, but it was passed over his veto by more than two-thirds majority. Bland Bill.

389. Railroad Strikes. (1877.)—In the summer of 1877 the most extensive strikes yet seen in the country occurred among the railroad employees of the middle and some of the western states. The cause of these strikes was the action of some of the railroad companies in lowering the wages of the men. In consequence, the men refused to work or to allow others to take their places. Trains, except those carrying the United States mail, were stopped. At Philadelphia and Baltimore prompt action by the authorities preserved order, but there were serious riots at Pittsburg, Chicago, St. Louis, and elsewhere. At Pittsburg, mobs controlled the city; lives were lost, railroad stations, locomotives, cars, and large amounts of other property were destroyed, the loss being estimated at over \$3,000,000. It was not until the militia, and in some instances the United States troops, were ordered out, that the trouble ended. It was about two weeks before regular traffic was restored everywhere. Railroad strikes, 1877.

390. Yellow Fever in the South. (1877, 1878.)—In the summers of 1877 and 1878 the states on the Gulf of Mexico, and parts of adjoining states, were visited by a terrible epidemic of yellow fever, the cities of Memphis and New Orleans being the greatest sufferers. As in the case of Yellow fever in the South.

¹ From 1784 to 1873 only 8,000,000 silver dollars in all had been coined; the supporters of the bill hoped to have six times as many coined in a single year.

Yellow
fever.

the Chicago fire, assistance of all kinds was cheerfully sent to the afflicted cities. The lack of sanitary regulations contributes greatly to the spread of yellow fever. Taught by this severe lesson, strict laws were enacted. In the case of Memphis particularly, the whole city was thoroughly cleansed, a new system of drainage adopted, and a rigorous system of sanitary laws devised and carried out. This action has been followed by highly satisfactory results.

Mississippi
jetties.

391. Mississippi Jetties. (1875.)—The Mississippi River brings down every year a vast amount of sediment; much



A BIRD'S-EYE VIEW OF THE MISSISSIPPI JETTIES AT PORT EADS IN 1878.

of which falls to the bottom near the mouth of the stream. This makes the river shallower, impedes navigation, and tends to make the river overflow its banks, causing great loss of property. Already two of the mouths of the Mississippi were too shallow to admit large vessels, nor could the largest ships reach New Orleans even by the principal channel. James B. Eads of St. Louis, a civil engineer, designer of a bridge across the river at St. Louis, proposed to Congress a plan, which he was confident would deepen the channel and at the same time keep the river within its banks better than had been

James B.
Eads.

possible heretofore. Congress grudgingly gave him permission to test his plan, and made an appropriation conditional upon his success, compelling him, moreover, to try his experiment upon the South Pass, which was the mouth or pass of the river least used and most unpromising.

His purpose was to confine the water within narrower bounds, thus making the current swifter, and forcing the water not only to clear out its own channel, but to keep it cleared out, the swiftness of the current preventing much deposit of sediment. This "jetty system,"¹ had been pursued with great success on the Danube. Within the contract time he had deepened the channel from eight to twenty feet, as he had promised, and later the channel was further deepened, so that large vessels can now come up to New Orleans without difficulty.

Eads' "jetty system."

392. Resumption of Specie Payments. (1879.)—On the 1st of January, 1879, in accordance with the act of Congress four years previously (sect. 380), the Secretary of the Treasury, John Sherman, announced that he would give gold for any United States notes which might be presented for payment. So confident were the people that such would be the case, and so excellent was the credit of the government on account of the steady payment of the debt, that the premium on gold had gradually disappeared, or more correctly, the notes had become equal to gold. When the holders knew that they could get gold whenever they wished, no one cared to exchange the convenient notes for the heavy metal. The success of the operation increased the credit of the government still more, so that it was now able to borrow at a lower rate

Resumption of specie payments, January 1, 1879.

¹ A jetty is a structure of wood, stone, etc., confining the current of a river or the tide.

of interest than ever, and to refund a large portion of its debt with a great saving in the annual expense for interest.¹

Garfield and
Arthur
elected
1880.

393. Garfield elected President. Assassination. (1880.)—
In the Presidential election of 1880, James A. Garfield



JAMES A. GARFIELD.

JAMES ABRAHAM GARFIELD was born in Ohio, November 19, 1831. His youth was spent in poverty. He graduated at Williams College in 1856. He taught Latin and Greek at Hiram College, Ohio, and became the president of the institution. He studied law, but entered the army in 1861, where he served with great distinction. By the advice of President Lincoln and others he resigned in order to enter Congress. Here he remained until 1880, serving on the most important committees. He was chosen senator in 1880, and in June, 1880, was unexpectedly nominated for President. He was elected and was inaugurated in March, 1881.

President
Garfield
assassinated.

and Chester A. Arthur, the Republican candidates, were elected over General Winfield S. Hancock and William H. English, the Democratic candidates. No man since John Quincy Adams had been elected to the Presidency who seemed in every way better fitted for the office. His nomination had been unsought, and he was untrammelled by political bargains. Much was looked for from his administration; but it was cut short by a disappointed office-seeker who shot the President in a railroad station at Washington, July 2, 1881, as he was about leaving for a Fourth of July celebration at his old college in Massachusetts. After lingering for a little over three months, he died, September

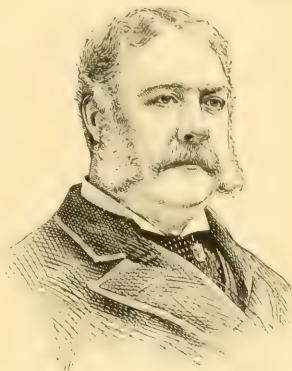
19, at Elberon, on the New Jersey coast, where he had been removed in the vain hope of improvement. The for-

¹ Loans at 6 per cent and over were called in and reissued at 4½ and 4 per cent. About \$30,000,000 a year in interest was thus saved.

titude with which he bore his suffering aroused the sympathy and admiration of the world.

394. Arthur Succeeds. (1881.)—Vice-President Arthur quietly succeeded to the Presidency. He had little reputation beyond that of a politician, nominated for political reasons, and many had voted for him reluctantly; but his admirable deportment during the illness of the President reassured the country, and he proved himself fully worthy of the office which had fallen to him without the wish or expectation of the people.

Vice-President Arthur succeeds.



CHESTER A. ARTHUR.

From a photograph.

395. Anti-Polygamy Bill. (1882); Civil Service Act (1883).—In 1882 Senator Edmunds of Vermont, introduced into Congress a bill designed to suppress polygamy, which was still practised by the Mormons in Utah and in the neighboring territories. The bill became

Anti-Polygamy Bill.

a law, and in 1890 the president of the Mormon body officially announced that polygamy would be abolished.

CHESTER ALAN ARTHUR was born in Vermont, October 5, 1830. He graduated at Union College, New York, 1848. He taught school for two years and studied law. He was Collector of the Port of New York 1871-1878. He was nominated as Vice-President with Garfield 1880, and on the death of President Garfield became President. He died November 18, 1886.

The death of President Garfield had attracted the attention of the people to the question of reform in the matter of appointments and removals in the public service. Ever since the time of Andrew Jackson, public offices had been considered the legitimate reward for party services. Now the people began to feel that the government business

Civil Service
Act, 1883.

should be carried on according to business principles, and that a government clerk should be chosen not because he was a Democrat or a Republican, but because of his fitness for the position; nor should he be removed unless for incompetency or breach of trust. President Grant had urged the subject upon the attention of Congress, and a bill creating a board of civil service commissioners had been passed, and appointments made under its advice; but Congress refused to continue the appropriation for its support. In 1883 Congress passed the Pendleton Civil Service Act, which was approved by President Arthur. This allowed the President to appoint examiners, who were to decide upon the qualifications of the applicants for the offices; from those shown to be qualified appointments were to be made. The provisions of the bill at first applied to only a few of the offices, but have since been extended to many more.¹

Another important feature of the act was the provision that contributions should not be solicited from the government employees for political purposes, and that employees should not take an active part in political contests. The Constitution vests the power of appointment, except for inferior offices, in the President (Art. II., sect. 2), and any law respecting appointments can be in the nature of advice only. The force of public opinion and the desire to escape the great pressure for offices have led Presidents more and more to avail themselves of the act.

396. Mississippi Floods (1882); Tariff Revision

¹ The bill was introduced by George H. Pendleton, a Democratic senator from Ohio, and was passed in both houses of Congress, irrespective of party. The civil service includes all lower executive offices, except those in the army and navy. The bill does not apply to heads of departments or to the higher offices.

(1883). — For a time attention was turned from political matters by a great disaster in the southwest. In 1882 the Mississippi River overflowed its banks, broke through the levees, and flooded the neighboring country for miles; thousands were forced to leave their homes, and there was great suffering in consequence. There would have been many deaths from exposure and starvation had not Congress promptly authorized the War Department to furnish tents and rations.

Mississippi
floods,
1882.

It has been seen that one way adopted to secure part of the funds necessary for the carrying on of the Civil War had been to raise the duty on imported goods, and at the same time greatly to extend the list of dutiable articles. It was now eighteen years since the close of the war. A large part of the debt had been paid off, and the income of the government was much greater than its necessary expenses. Many persons believed not only that taxation was too high, but also that a surplus of revenue was bad for the country, as it tended to encourage extravagant appropriations by Congress. Accordingly, it was determined to lower the tariff. A commission was appointed; and as a result of its work, a revision of the tariff was made in 1883, but the reductions were very slight, and little was accomplished.

Tariff com-
mission.

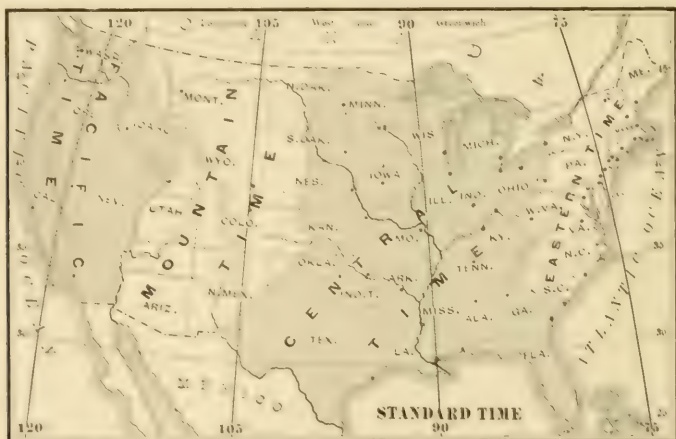
397. Brooklyn Bridge (1869-1883); Standard Time (1883). — Between New York and Brooklyn flows the East River, a deep stream and a great highway of commerce. Proposals for bridging it had often been discussed, but no attempt was made until 1869, when the work was undertaken by John A. Roebling, the civil engineer who designed the suspension bridge across the Niagara River just below the falls. He died before the bridge was begun; but his son, Washington A. Roebling, carried out

Brooklyn
bridge.

the plans, and the great work was completed in 1883. It is one of the longest and most beautiful suspension bridges in the world. It is more than a mile in length, is supported by wire cables more than a foot thick, and is one hundred and thirty-two feet above the water at high tide.

Standard
time.

In 1883 the great railroad companies, which had suffered much inconvenience from the different standards of time in use in different parts of the country, agreed to



divide the country from east to west into four sections, as nearly equal as practicable. Throughout each section the same time was to be used, the time to be that of the meridian passing through the middle of the section. These central meridians are exactly one hour apart, and are calculated from the meridian of Greenwich, England. Thus when it is noon in New York, standard time makes it eleven o'clock in the forenoon at Chicago, which is in the next section, and so on, regardless of the actual time at any

given place. The railroads are so important in the economy of modern civilization, that almost all persons in the country have adopted the new system, and set their clocks and watches to agree with "railroad standard time."

398. Washington Monument Completed (1885); Yorktown Celebration (1881). — During Arthur's administration two interesting events brought back the memory of the Forefathers' days, and illustrated the changes which have taken place in the meantime. Immediately after the death of Washington, Congress had voted to erect a monument in his honor, but it was not until nearly fifty years had passed that even the corner-stone was laid (1848). The work was undertaken by an association, but went on so slowly that the unfinished monument became a subject of ridicule. At last Congress was persuaded to appropriate money for its completion, and it was finished and dedicated February 21, 1885. It is five hundred and fifty-five feet high, a simple obelisk of white marble capped with aluminum. It was a remarkable circumstance that Robert C. Winthrop of Massachusetts, the orator who gave the address at the time of laying the corner-stone, was still living and able to prepare that for the dedication. When the work was more than half completed it was found that the foundation was sinking, so it was determined to try to build a new foundation without taking down that part of the structure which had already been erected. This work, a triumph of modern engineering, was successfully accomplished under the direction of Colonel Casey, of the United States Corps of Engineers.

Dedication
of Washing-
ton Monu-
ment.

The other event was the celebration of the centennial anniversary of the surrender at Yorktown, October 19, 1881. The celebration was held on the spot; and, by invitation, several of the Lafayette family, and other

Yorktown
Centennial,
1881.

Yorktown
Centennial,
1881.

representatives from France, were present. One of the very pleasant features of the occasion was the participation of the British minister and other Englishmen in the exercises, thus showing how changed were the feelings from those of one hundred years before. At the close of the exercises, President Arthur gracefully ordered the British flag to be raised, that it might receive a military salute in proof of the good feeling existing between the two countries.

New Orleans
Cotton Ex-
position,
1884.

399. New Orleans Cotton Exhibition. (1884.)—There was another centennial celebration of a different character held in New Orleans in 1884. In 1784 eight bags¹ of cotton were exported from the United States, the first shipment of the kind which had ever been made, and it was to commemorate this event that "The World's Industrial and Cotton Centennial Exposition" was held at the greatest cotton port of the United States, New Orleans. The eight bags of 1784 had become 3,898,905 bales in 1884, of which about 2,000,000 bales were exported from New Orleans.²

Progress in
the South.

Interesting as the growth in the cotton industry was, the exhibition was still more instructive in showing the vast strides which the South had taken in the seventeen years since the close of the war, in agriculture, and particularly in manufactures. In 1860, south of Maryland, there were hardly any manufactures to be reported in the census; in 1884 millions of dollars were invested in mills producing cotton cloth, iron, oil, flour, and many other articles, while in agriculture the production under free labor far surpassed that under slavery. The cotton crop

¹ The eight bags were about equal to one bale.

² A bale of cotton is here taken as weighing about 450 pounds, though bales vary considerably in weight.

of 1860, at that time the largest ever raised, amounted to about 5,000,000 bales, that of 1884 was about 6,000,000 bales. In addition to this, besides a large amount of corn and wheat, the South now raised vast quantities of early fruits and vegetables, which, owing to the means of rapid transportation offered by railroads and steamship lines, found a ready market in the northern cities; and in Florida thousands of orange groves supplied the northern markets with fruit, excelling in flavor that from Italy and the West Indies, and to a very great extent displacing it.

400. Education in the South. (1884.)—It was evident that it would be a long time before the political and social condition of the freedmen and that of their descendants in the South would be thoroughly satisfactory. In South Carolina, Louisiana, and Mississippi, where the whites were in an actual minority, an especially difficult problem presented itself. In 1866 George Peabody, the philanthropist, gave a large

Progress in the South.



GEORGE PEABODY.

GEORGE PEABODY, the philanthropist, was born in Danvers, Mass., February 18, 1795. His family were poor, and he received a scanty education. He began his business life at the age of eleven. Before he was twenty he removed to Georgetown, District of Columbia, and thence to Baltimore. Here he became a successful merchant. In 1837 he removed to London, England, and became a banker and amassed a large fortune. In 1822 he gave to his native town of Danvers twenty thousand dollars "for the promotion of knowledge." From this time his gifts for philanthropic purposes were large and frequent. In all he is supposed to have given away eight and a half million dollars, besides leaving large sums to his relatives. Among his gifts were a million and a half dollars to found the Peabody Institute in Baltimore; two hundred thousand dollars to the Peabody Institute in Danvers; three and a half million dollars for the promotion of education in the southern states without regard to race; and two and a half millions for the better housing of the deserving poor in London. He died in London, November 4, 1869.

Social problems in the South.

George Peabody.

John F.
Slater.

sum, afterward increased to \$3,500,000, in aid of education in the South; and in 1882 John F. Slater, a wealthy manufacturer of Norwich, Connecticut, gave \$1,000,000 for the education of the freedmen in the South. Both these large endowments are under the care of boards of management. The southern states themselves are spending large sums in the cause of education.

One of the most striking features of the "New South" is the accumulation of property by the former slaves and their descendants. In 1865 this class may be said to have had no property; in the census of 1890 they are shown to have already become owners of \$100,000,000.

Nomina-
tions of
1884,
Republican.

401. Four Parties in Election of 1884.—In the Presidential campaign of 1884 there were four candidates in the field. The Republicans nominated James G. Blaine of Maine, for President, and John A. Logan for Vice-President. Many in the party were dissatisfied with these nominations and asserted that they were in the interest of the politicians rather than of the country. These men withdrew from the Republican party, and called themselves Independents, but were popularly named "Mugwumps."¹

A number of these held a convention and issued a circular, calling upon those who sympathized with them to support the Democratic candidates and to persuade other voters to do likewise.

Democratic.

The Democratic convention nominated Grover Cleveland, who was governor of New York, for President, and Thomas A. Hendricks of Indiana, for Vice-President. A convention representing various shades of political belief, and called the Anti-Monopoly, Greenback, Labor,

¹ This word seems to be of North American Indian origin, and meant originally a chief, but is now used as signifying a "bolter," or an independent.

People's party, nominated General Benjamin F. Butler of Massachusetts, and A. M. West, of Mississippi. The Prohibitionists nominated Governor John P. St. John of Kansas, and William Daniel of Maryland. A feature of the Prohibition convention was the presence of women as delegates. The platform of this party demanded the prohibition, wherever the national government had control, of the manufacture, sale, and use of intoxicating beverages; it declared against the collection of revenue from the sale of alcoholic liquors, and it opposed the admission of any state the constitution of which did not prohibit polygamy, and the manufacture and sale of intoxicating liquors.

People's party.

Prohibition party.



GROVER CLEVELAND.

From a photograph.

Cleveland elected, 1884.

402. Cleveland elected. (1884-1885.) — The election which followed was so close that the result depended upon the vote of the state of New York, and there the two great parties were so evenly divided that several days elapsed before the result could be determined. A condition of affairs very similar to that which had defeated Henry Clay in 1844 (sect. 257) defeated Blaine.

GROVER CLEVELAND was born in New Jersey, March 18, 1837. He received a common school and academic education. He studied law. He was sheriff in 1870, and in 1881 was elected mayor of Buffalo, New York. In 1882 he was elected governor of New York by a very large majority. In 1884 he was nominated as the Democratic candidate for President, and was elected. He was President 1885-1889. Renominated in 1888, he was defeated. A candidate again in 1892, he was elected and was President 1893-1897. Since his retirement he has resided at Princeton, New Jersey.

A sufficient number of dissatisfied Republicans voted with the Democrats or with the Prohibitionists to give

Cleveland the state by a small plurality, and for the first time since 1856 the Presidency fell to the Democrats.¹

President
Cleveland
and Civil
Service.

403. President Cleveland (1885): Acts relating to Election of President (1886-1887). — Cleveland and Hendricks were inaugurated March 4, 1885. President Cleveland's probable course was a matter of much interest to the friends of civil service reform. He did not disappoint them. For the first time since Andrew Jackson, there was no wholesale change of government employees. The provisions of the Civil Service Act were carried out in respect to the offices to which it applied, in spite of the great pressure brought to bear upon the President who represented a new party in power.

Though the Senate was controlled by the Republicans and the House of Representatives by the Democrats, two very important acts were passed and were approved by the President.

Presidential
Succession
Act, 1886.

(1) The Presidential Succession Act (1886), which provides that in the case of the death or disability of both the President and Vice-President, first the Secretary of State, and then, if necessary, the other members of the Cabinet, in the order of their succession, shall be acting President until the disability is removed, or a new President shall be elected at the usual time. To avoid any invidious distinction, the secretaries are named in the order in which the several departments were created: (1) Secretary of State, (2) Secretary of the Treasury, (3) Secretary of War, (4) Attorney-General, (5) Postmaster-General, (6) Secretary of the Navy, (7) Secretary of the Interior. Should any one of these be constitutionally disqualified for holding the office of President, he is to be passed over, as well as

¹ The Democratic plurality in New York was only 1149 in a vote of 1,125,150.

any one who has not been confirmed as secretary by the Senate in executive session.¹

(2) The Electoral Count Act (1887), providing a method of counting the electoral votes for President and Vice-President, which will not only prevent the recurrence of the difficulty which had arisen in 1876, but also guards against others. The aim of the act is to have disputes relative to the validity of the votes settled by state tribunals.

Electoral
Count Act,
1887

404. Interstate Commerce Act ; Chinese Exclusion Act. (1887-1888.)— Another important act of legislation was the Interstate Commerce Law (1887), designed to regulate commerce between the various states, particularly in regard to the rates charged by railroads for passengers and freight. In many respects this is one of the most far-reaching measures ever enacted by Congress.

Interstate
Commerce
Law, 1887.

Another act (1888) was designed to prevent the immigration of Chinese laborers, who, it was contended, were greatly lowering the rates of wages for Americans, and indeed for all other laborers than themselves. It was urged that Chinamen came to the United States with no intention of becoming citizens, but simply for the purpose of making money enough to enable them in a few years to return to China ; that they brought with them no families to support, ate little but rice, and lived in a way in which Americans could not live ; that they had brought immoral customs into the country, and that the influence of such a community was extremely injurious. The bill passed, with little opposition. Some believed, however, that this act and an act of 1880, to which it was supple-

Chinese
Immigration
Act, 1888.

¹ The acting President, upon assuming office, must convene Congress, if it is not at the time in session, giving twenty days' notice. The office of Secretary of Agriculture was not created until 1889.

Chinese
Immigration
Acts.

mentary, were violations of treaty obligations with the Chinese, besides being otherwise objectionable. The matter was soon brought before the Supreme Court of the United States, which decided that the "power of the legislative department of the government to exclude aliens from the United States is an incident of sovereignty, which cannot be surrendered by the treaty-making power." The Chinese Immigration Acts were not thoroughly effective, owing to the great difficulty of preventing the excluded class from being smuggled across the border from Canada, where there was no law forbidding the immigration of Chinese.

Labor
troubles.

405. Labor Troubles and Knights of Labor. — For some years there had been a growing feeling of antagonism between the so-called laboring class and the capitalists and manufacturers. This feeling was intensified by the increasing number of rich men, who had gained their wealth from the mines, from the oil fields, by successful speculation in railroad stocks and bonds, or in various commercial enterprises. The working-men believed that an unjust share of the profits of industry went to the capitalists, and that the "rich were getting richer, and the poor poorer" all the time. They felt, and often with reason, that the hours of labor were unnecessarily long, and they had also many other grievances some of which were just. In order to enforce their demands and protect their interests, labor organizations were formed. Among the most extensive of these was "The Knights of Labor," which numbered many thousands in its membership, and the influence of which extended into every state in the Union.

"Knights of
Labor."

These organizations, through committees or delegates, or both, presented the demands of the employees to the manufacturers. If the manufacturers refused the demand for

higher wages, shorter hours, dismissal of objectionable fellow-workers, or change of rules, the association or "union" would order all members to cease working, or to "strike," as it is called. Often, when "union men" struck, they would not permit "non-union" men to take their places or to work under any circumstances. Some of the employers, on their part, would make a list called the "black list," of those men who were likely to give trouble, and would refuse to give work to such men. In return, the associations made use of a method introduced from Ireland, called "boycott," which is to persuade others to have nothing to do with the person disliked, to decline to work or to deal with him, or to use goods manufactured by him or passing through his hands.¹ The boycott proved a powerful weapon, but it was like a blade without a handle, which cuts him who wields it, for it helped to bring about the importation of foreign laborers who were willing to work at a lower rate than native workmen, and who were free from the labor organizations.

Demands of
labor organ-
izations.

406. Strikes; Anarchist Riots in Chicago. (1886.)—The labor troubles were especially frequent in 1886, which has been in consequence called the year of strikes. There were many riots, the worst of which took place in Chicago. Early in the spring it was estimated that forty thousand men were "on a strike" in that city alone. The disturbances culminated on May 4, when a crowd was addressed by a number of speakers who urged the most violent methods of gaining their ends. When the police ordered

Strikes.

Chicago
riots, 1886.

¹ Captain Boycott was a landlord's agent in Ireland. The disaffected tenants, to avenge themselves for fancied wrongs, refused to sell him food or clothing, or to have any dealings whatever with him. Inciting others to "boycott" any one with the design of injuring him, has been decided by the courts of the United States to be illegal and punishable.

Chicago
riots, 1886.

the mob to disperse, a dynamite bomb was exploded among the officers, killing and wounding many. In return, the body of police charged and fired upon the mob with equally fatal effect. The ringleaders were arrested and brought to trial; four were hanged, and others imprisoned.¹ It was a relief to the country to find that all the ringleaders but one were foreigners, and were of that class of anarchists whose purpose is to overthrow all governments and to do away with all the rights of property. The working-men throughout the country disclaimed and denounced these riots.

Charleston
earthquake,
1886.

407. Charleston Earthquake; Statue of Liberty. (1886.)—During the summer of 1886 the city of Charleston, South Carolina, was visited by a severe earthquake. Lives were lost, and many buildings were thrown down or so shaken that it was necessary to pull them down. The total loss was estimated at \$5,000,000. As in the case of the calamities at Chicago and at Boston, the suffering citizens had abundant and substantial aid from their sympathizing fellow-countrymen.

"Statue of
Liberty."

A pleasant incident of the year 1886 was the completion and dedication of the statue of "Liberty enlightening the World," presented by the French Republic to the United States, in commemoration of the old friendship between the two countries, and as an evidence of the faith of the French people in republican institutions. The bronze statue, known to every one who leaves or enters the harbor of New York, is one hundred and fifty feet high. The expense of the pedestal was defrayed by the citizens of the United States. The whole structure, which is situated on Bedloe's Island, rises three hundred feet above the water.

¹ Those still in prison in 1893 were pardoned by the governor of Illinois on the ground of an unfair trial.

408. The Surplus. (1886.) — As the debt of the country Surplus. decreased, the need for money decreased also, and the income of the government continued to be greater than was necessary to meet the annual charges for interest and for the expenses of supporting the various departments. The reduction of the tariff (1883) (sect. 396) had amounted to little, and though the internal taxes had been removed from nearly everything except liquor and tobacco, there was still a surplus over expenditures of about \$100,000,000. Of course it was a matter of great pride to the country to enjoy such prosperity that it could of its own will tax itself unnecessarily for a large sum, and yet be scarcely conscious of a burden.

But there are vexed problems connected with a national surplus of any considerable size. First, where a financial system like the Sub-Treasury system of the United States is employed, there is no way to get the money back into circulation, except by the payment of interest, of salaries, by paying for government works, or by purchase of national bonds, often at a high rate. The first three methods are inadequate, and the last is dependent upon the willingness of the owners to part with their bonds. Secondly, a large surplus is, from the very nature of the case, difficult to expend economically and judiciously.

409. Mills Bill; Harrison Elected. (1888.) — Both of the prominent parties were bound to reduce the surplus. Plans to
reduce the
surplus. This could be done in two ways, or by a combination of the two: (1) lessening the income, (2) increasing the expenditure, (3) lessening the income in some directions and increasing the expenditure in others. President Cleveland, following the traditions of his party, naturally decided that the true way to meet the difficulty was to reduce the income of the government, by abolishing the duty on some goods, and re-

The Tariff.

ducing it on others to a point which would bring about a "tariff for revenue" only. This opinion he gave to Congress in his annual message of December, 1887, in which, contrary to precedent, he confined himself to one subject, — the tariff.

The House of Representatives, in response to this action, passed a tariff bill, called from its principal author the Mills Bill, which proposed to reduce largely the tariff on imports. The Senate, which had a Republican majority, refused to concur, and the measure failed.

Nomina-
tions, 1888.

In the Presidential election of 1888, the Democrats nominated President Cleveland, with Allen G. Thurman of Ohio for Vice-President. The Republicans nominated Benjamin Harrison of Indiana, with Levi P. Morton of New York for Vice-President. The Prohibitionists nominated Clinton B. Fisk of New Jersey, and John A. Brooks of Missouri. The United Labor party also put candidates in the field. Little or no objection could be made to the candidates on personal grounds, so the whole issue was on matters of public policy. The Democrats advocated a tariff for revenue only, while the Republicans advocated a tariff not merely for revenue, but also for "protection of home industries." As in 1884, the result of the election turned on the vote of New York, which this time gave a plurality for the Republican candidates.¹

Republicans
successful.

410. Benjamin Harrison. (1889.) — Harrison and Morton were inaugurated March 4, 1889. As under the administration of Cleveland, most of those holding offices

¹ Every northern and western state, except Connecticut and New Jersey, declared for the Republican ticket, and every southern state for the Democratic ticket; so, again, there was a "solid South." Texas gave Cleveland the large plurality of 140,000, while in South Carolina the total vote for all candidates was 13,000 less than it had been in 1884, and 91,000 less than in 1880.

to which the civil service applies were not displaced; but, as under previous administrations, many, particularly in the Post-office Department, were either removed or not reappointed when their terms expired.

411. Oklahoma; Washington Centennial. (1889.) —

One of the earliest acts of the new administration was the opening of the territory of Oklahoma to white settlers. This tract of 39,030 square miles had been part of Indian Territory. There was a rush to the new territory to take up claims under the land laws, but by proclamation of the President, any one entering the district before noon of April 22, 1889, would be debarred from acquiring any rights therein. At midday crowds of eager claim-seekers rushed across the line, claims were staked out with marvellous rapidity, and towns of tents or rough board shanties sprang up before nightfall. In about five months, Guthrie, the principal town, had a population of 4000, several banks, four daily papers and lines of street cars.¹

¹ The lands were bought from the Creek and Seminole Indians, and opened to settlers by act of Congress March 2, 1889. Great numbers of negroes went to Oklahoma. In 1890 the population of the new territory was 61,834, and in 1900, 398,245.



Oklahoma.

BENJAMIN HARRISON.

BENJAMIN HARRISON, grandson of President William Henry Harrison and great grandson of Benjamin Harrison, signer of the Declaration of Independence, was born in Ohio, August 20, 1833. He graduated at Miami College, Ohio, 1852. He studied law, but entered the army in 1861. He served with distinction, receiving the rank of brevet brigadier-general. In 1865 he resumed the practice of law. He was a senator from Indiana 1881-1887. He was nominated for President 1888 and was elected. He was President 1889-1893. A candidate for re-election in 1892, he was defeated. He died March 13, 1901.

Washington's Centennial in New York, 1889.

An imposing celebration of the one hundredth anniversary of the inauguration of Washington at New York, April 30, 1789, was held in that city April 29-30, 1889; the President and the Cabinet with a large representation of the army and navy, as well as of citizens, took part in it.

Johnstown flood, 1889.

412. Johnstown Flood; Seven New States. (1889-1890, 1896.) — One of the most terrible disasters which has ever been known in the country took place at Johnstown, central Pennsylvania, May 31, 1889. A large dam on the Conemaugh River gave way, and a column of water nearly half a mile wide and forty feet high swept down the valley toward the town with amazing rapidity; it is said to have traversed a distance of eighteen miles in fifteen minutes. With scarcely a moment's warning villages and houses were carried away; even an express passenger railroad train was unable to get away from the flood, and was overtaken with destruction. The flood swept on to Johnstown, a busy manufacturing town, which was almost completely destroyed. About twenty-two hundred persons are thought to have lost their lives; in some instances whole families were swept out of existence. Property valued at \$10,000,000 was destroyed or rendered worthless. As in other times of calamity, contributions were quickly and liberally made to aid the sufferers.

New states admitted.

In the last few days of the preceding administration, Congress had authorized the admission of four new states, which, having fulfilled the required conditions, were admitted to the Union by proclamations of the President in the fall of 1889. They were North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington. Idaho and Wyoming were admitted in July, 1890, and Utah in January, 1896,¹ making the number of states forty-five.

¹ Utah, before admission, complied with a special act of Congress, one of the provisions of which required the absolute prohibition of polygamy.

413. Pan-American Congress. (1889-1899.) — In the autumn of 1889 a congress of representatives from the principal independent nations of America began its sessions at Washington. This Pan-American Congress, as it was called, was held at the invitation of the United States, for "the purpose of recommending some plan of arbitration for the settlement of disputes between them [the republics of both American continents], and of considering questions relating to the improvement of business intercourse, and means of direct communication between said countries."

Pan-American Congress, 1889.

The congress made a number of recommendations, the most important of which is that "the republics of North, Central, and South America adopt arbitration as a principle of American international law for the settlement of all differences, disputes, or controversies that may arise between them." The members of this congress spent six weeks in visiting the principal cities of the United States.¹

414. "Filibustering" in Congress; Quorum. (1890.) — "Filibustering" in Congress. The fifty-first Congress met in 1889, with a Republican majority in each house, and Thomas B. Reed of Maine was elected Speaker. Great complaint had often been made of the slowness of Congress in transacting the business before it. It had long been the custom of the minority to stop the progress of law-making by refusing to vote. As a member not voting was counted as not present, the minority by not voting could raise the objection of "no quorum present,"

¹ The congress consisted of sixty-six members. Haiti, Nicaragua, Peru, Guatemala, Colombia, Argentine Republic, Costa Rica, Paraguay, Brazil, Honduras, Mexico, Bolivia, United States, Venezuela, Chile, Salvador, and Ecuador were represented. The congress adjourned April 19, 1899.

which would stop all business until a quorum could be secured.¹

"Reed's
rules."

Speaker Reed resolved to put an end to this "filibustering," as it was called, and did so by counting as part of a quorum all members present, whether voting or not. A new set of rules afterward adopted by the House gave the speaker this power.

McKinley
Bill.

415. McKinley Tariff; Reciprocity; Pension Bill. (1890.)

— The Republicans, having control of both houses of Congress and the President being a Republican, Congress was in a good position to make laws. Two important and far-reaching measures were enacted: (1) A new tariff bill. This, called the McKinley Bill, from the chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means who reported it, passed both houses, after long discussion, and became a law October 6, 1890. Few measures have excited such public interest. It was based on the principle of protecting American industries. While reducing the rate of duty on many articles, and adding largely to the free list, it increased the duty on other articles for the express purpose of protecting and stimulating American products and manufactures. A provision was included by which the President was empowered to impose or remit duties upon certain articles, according as the country from which the articles came did or did not levy duties upon American products. This was known as the "reciprocity measure."

Reciprocity.

(2) A pension bill vastly extending the list of pensioners. While the provisions of this act do not differ mate-

¹ The way in which this was done is as follows : The minority would refuse to vote upon a measure, and when the record of the clerk showed that less than a majority voted on the bill, would raise the point of order that no quorum was present, and would demand the calling of the roll. As this operation occupies considerable time, and can be repeated without limit, it was quite possible for a comparatively small number to block legislation effectively.

rially from those of the acts pensioning the veterans of the War of the Revolution, the War of 1812, and of the Mexican War, the vast number to receive compensation under the act made the measure one of great importance. It was estimated that the average annual charge to the country will be for some years not far from \$150,000,000. No other nation has ever attempted to reward its soldiers and sailors to a like extent.¹

Pension
Bill.

416. Republican Defeat; Farmers' Alliance. (1890.) — Shortly after the passage of the McKinley Bill, the elections for the members of the fifty-second Congress were held and the Republicans met a crushing defeat at the polls, the Democrats changing a minority of 21 into a majority of 135. The enormous appropriations of the fifty-first Congress, doubts of the wisdom of the Pension Bill, and fears of an increased cost of living, due to the McKinley Tariff Bill, helped to bring about this political overturn. It was also due to some extent to the direct and indirect influence of an organization, which though not at first political in its character, had much influence upon voters, and in 1890 began to make itself felt as a political power. This was known as the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union. Its objects were mutual improvement and the furtherance of the interests of farmers. The first alliance appears to have been in New York about 1873; by 1889 the various state organizations were united into a national body, which in 1890 claimed a membership of about 2,000,000.

Republican
defeat.

Farmers'
Alliance.

¹ "All the [former] Confederate states either grant pensions to disabled or helpless ex-Confederate soldiers, or have soldiers' homes"; Maryland and Missouri have soldiers' homes. The amount appropriated is necessarily small. Thus the South contributes to the support of the survivors of both of the old armies. The total amount contributed for the aid of ex-Confederates was, in 1892, more than a million dollars.

Legislation
of 1890-
1891.

Sherman
Act.

Columbian
Exposition.

Inter-
national
copyright.

417. Legislation of 1890-1891.— Other important legislation in 1890 was (1) a bill designed to put a stop to lotteries by forbidding the transportation through the mails of advertisements and prospectuses of lottery companies, and of mail matter addressed to them;¹ (2) a bill to provide for the inspection of pork or bacon before exportation, and to prevent the importation of diseased cattle and other animals, and of adulterated food; (3) a bill for the increase of the navy, authorizing the construction of large war vessels; (4) an act modifying the Interstate Commerce Act (sect. 404) so as to give each state authority to regulate the sale of goods brought into it; (5) a bill known as the Sherman Act, to modify the Bland Act (sect. 388), by providing that the Secretary of the Treasury should purchase, at market price, not exceeding a certain limit, 4,500,000 ounces of silver bullion monthly, and issue in payment of such purchases notes redeemable in coin; (6) a bill to provide for an international exhibition to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America by Columbus in 1492. After considerable discussion, Chicago was selected as the place for holding the exhibition, and as it would be impracticable to have everything in readiness by the anniversary, the actual opening was fixed for May, 1893. Another act (1891) was the one providing for international copyright; by this bill foreign authors, musical composers, and a few others, are under certain conditions given the benefit of copyright for their works in the United States. Before the passage of this act, any one in America could reprint any foreign

¹ The Louisiana Lottery Company tested the constitutionality of this act, but the Supreme Court confirmed it. The issue of the next election for governor in Louisiana was the lottery question, and the company was again defeated.

work without payment to the author. While many American publishers voluntarily paid authors something, the amounts were necessarily small, for there was nothing to prevent others also from republishing a book and offering it at a lower price.

418. Census of 1890 ; Fifty-second Congress. (1891.) — Census of 1890.
Late in the year the Census Bureau reported the population of the United States to be 62,622,250, a gratifying increase over the census of 1880 (Appendix VI.). Congress, in a few weeks, passed a reapportionment act, making the number of the House of Representatives three hundred and fifty-six (Appendix VIII.). The census also showed that the centre of population had moved westward, during the preceding ten years, forty-eight miles.¹ (See sect. 470.)

The fifty-second Congress met December, 1891, with a Democratic majority of 135 in the House of Representatives. Charles F. Crisp, of Georgia, was elected Speaker, and the House, contrary to its usual custom, refused to adopt the rules made by its predecessor (sect. 414).

419. Difficulty with Italy. (1890.) — Italian riots in New Orleans, 1890.
In the fall of 1890 the chief of police of the city of New Orleans was shot and killed by assassins believed to be Italians, whose ill-will he had incurred. A number of men were arrested and tried for the murder, or for abetting it. On the trial six were acquitted, and in the case of three others a mistrial was entered. It was almost universally believed that the jury had been bribed and popular feeling was greatly stirred in regard to the matter. On March 14, 1891, a mob broke into the jail and lynched eleven Italians confined

¹ The "centre of population" shows in a rough way the increase of the population, particularly in the westward direction.

Italian riots
in New
Orleans.

there, including those who had been on trial as well as two who had been acquitted by direction of the judge. The Italian government, on the ground that the murdered men were Italian subjects, protested at once, through its minister at Washington, and subsequently demanded reparation. The Secretary of State was obliged to reply that, while the United States government greatly regretted the occurrence, the punishment of the offenders rested with the Louisiana authorities, and that the United States could not guarantee an indemnity. On this the Italian minister took his departure, and it seemed for a time as if war might result, but the affair was settled, in 1892, by the offer of the United States government to compensate the families of the three or four victims who were shown to be Italian citizens. Shortly after diplomatic relations were resumed by Italy.

Trouble
with Chile.

420. Trouble with Chile; Bering Sea. (1891.) — A revolution in Chile occurred in 1891, and soon after some sailors from a war vessel of the United States were attacked in the streets of Valparaiso by a mob, and two were killed and others roughly handled. The government of the United States demanded reparation, and for a while there was danger of serious trouble between the two nations, but calmer counsels prevailed, and the difficulty was peacefully settled.

Seal fishery
dispute.

Another international episode related to the extreme north. The wholesale slaughter of seals in Bering Sea threatened to exterminate these valuable animals in a short time, and the United States government determined to interfere, claiming that, under the privileges which were acquired from Russia when Alaska was bought, the United States had the right to consider Bering Sea as under her control, so far as the seals were concerned. Vessels catch-

ing seals were seized and the skins found on them were confiscated. As many of the "seal poachers" were from Canada, the British government remonstrated, denying the jurisdiction claimed by the United States. After much diplomatic correspondence a treaty was concluded, providing for the arbitration of the matters in dispute, — another triumph for the principle of settling international disputes by arbitration.

421. Ballot Reform. (1888-1892.) — Interest was not confined to foreign affairs; many matters of domestic importance claimed attention. As a result, partly of the elections of 1888, and partly of a slow growth in popular feeling, there was a general demand for a reform in the methods of conducting popular elections. This feeling, too strong to be ignored, forced one state legislature after another to pass ballot-reform laws, which, to a greater or less degree, removed occasions for fraud and gave better opportunity for the secrecy of the ballot, thus increasing the independence of the voter. By the time of the election of 1892 thirty-seven states had adopted some modification of the Australian ballot, so called because the system was first brought into use in Australia. This most important reform was supported by each of the great parties.

Ballot reform.

422. Homestead Labor Troubles. (1892.) — A serious labor outbreak took place in the summer of 1892, at Homestead, near Pittsburg, Pennsylvania. Difficulty arose between the employees in the large iron works at that place and the owners, and was greatly aggravated by the fact that the owners employed a private force of men to protect their property. These men were fired upon as they approached the town, and forced to surrender. So great was the disturbance that the governor was obliged

Homestead labor troubles, 1892.

Homestead
troubles,
1892.

to call out the whole militia of the state to preserve order. The strike spread among the iron workers of Pittsburg and the neighboring places until it included several thousands. Fortunately, there was no collision between the troops and the strikers, but it was some weeks before quiet was assured and the troops were withdrawn. The expense to the state was great, and the loss to the workers and to the company was millions of dollars, and yet a fair and amicable adjustment of the claims of labor and capital was in no way helped on.

Columbia
Exposition.

423. Columbian Exposition. (1892.)—In many of the large cities the anniversary of the discovery of America was celebrated by great processions and military and naval demonstrations, some of which were very imposing. In many of the schools, both public and private, throughout the land, "Columbus Day" was also celebrated by the raising of flags, singing, recitations, and speech-making. From the 21st to the 23d of October, the formal dedication ceremonies of the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago took place, in the presence of thousands of spectators (sect. 430).

Political
platforms,
1892.

424. Republican and Democratic Platforms. (1892.)—As the time for a new Presidential election drew near, it was evident that the independent voters, whose numbers would be greatly increased by the adoption of the Australian ballot, and also the rank and file of the parties, were likely to exercise more influence than heretofore. This was shown in the selection of candidates. The Republican Convention renominated Benjamin Harrison, and selected Whitelaw Reid of New York as candidate for Vice-President. The platform reaffirmed the "American doctrine of protection," upheld the McKinley Tariff Bill and the reciprocity measures under it, and praised the

policy and acts of the Republican party. The Democratic Convention nominated ex-President Grover Cleveland and Adlai E. Stevenson of Illinois. The platform denounced the attempts of the Republicans to bring about Federal control of elections, the system of protection in general, and the McKinley Bill in particular, and recommended the removal of the tax on state-bank issues of paper money. The money "plank" in both platforms was practically the same, each upholding the use of both gold and silver as currency, and demanding that all dollars issued by the government, whether gold, silver, or paper, should be kept of equal value. The only important difference between the two platforms was in the tariff "plank," and in the recommendation to remove the tax on the bank-bills of state banks.

Political
platforms,
1892.

425. Prohibition, and People's Platform. (1892.)—The Prohibition party for the sixth time put candidates in the field, choosing John Bidwell of California, and J. B. Cranfill of Texas. The platform, in addition to the Prohibition "plank," advocated, among other things, woman suffrage, equal wages without respect to sex, increase in the amount of the circulating medium, and the raising of revenue by levying taxes upon what the people possess, instead of upon what they consume. All who believed in Prohibition were invited to "full party fellowship."

Prohibition
platforms.

A new party was formed, whose adherents were mostly in the West. This was the People's party, or the "Populist" party, an outgrowth of the Farmers' Alliance (sect. 416). Its platform, after a general condemnation of the two great political parties of the country, advocated the union of the labor forces of the United States, the loaning of money by the government to its citizens at two per cent interest, a national currency, "free and unlimited coinage

"Populists."

"Populists." of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of sixteen to one," increase of the circulating medium, a graduated income tax, postal savings banks, government ownership of railroads, telegraphs, and telephones, and prohibition of alien ownership of land. Resolutions were passed condemning the protective system and subsidies by the government, and others commending the Australian system of voting, the enforcement of the eight-hour law in government work, the election of United States senators by a popular vote, and other reforms of various kinds. The convention nominated James B. Weaver of Iowa, who had been candidate of the Greenback party in 1880, and James G. Field of Virginia.

Democrats
successful.

426. Democrats Successful. (1892.)—The campaign was the least exciting one that had taken place for a long time, and was marked by an absence of personalities, and by the great stress laid upon matters of public policy. The two chief candidates had each occupied the position of President, the fitness of each had been tried, and the personal character of each was well known. There was a very general feeling that, whichever should be elected, the interests of the nation would be looked after conscientiously and with ability. The result was the choice of the Democratic candidates by a large majority of the electoral votes. The Democrats retained the control of the House of Representatives, though with a greatly reduced majority, and gained control of the Senate as well. The People's party developed unexpected strength, choosing one or more Presidential electors in several states, besides congressmen.

Among the important measures passed by the fifty-second Congress were a national quarantine bill, an immigration bill imposing additional restrictions upon

immigrants, and a bill providing that, by a certain date, all railroad cars should be provided with automatic safety couplers.

427. Second Inauguration of Cleveland; Bering Sea Case. (1893.)—The inauguration of Cleveland and Stevenson took place on the 4th of March, 1893, and for the first time since 1861 the Democrats controlled all branches of the government.

Second
inauguration
of
Cleveland.

A pleasant feature of the transfer of the chief government offices to the new incumbents was the courteous manner in which it was done, and the kindly good feeling shown on both sides. The large number of government employees under the civil service rules, to whom a change of party rule was no longer a vital question, somewhat thinned the ranks of the office-seekers, though their number was much greater than had been expected by the friends of reform.

The Bering Sea case (sect. 420) had been referred to seven arbitrators, who, after a most patient and careful consideration of the matters submitted to them, decided in August, 1893, against the claim of the United States.¹ But the tribunal made such stringent provisions, binding upon both Great Britain and the United States, for the protection of the seals, that while failing technically, the United States gained the real point at issue, — the protection of the valuable fur-bearing animals. So "again has arbitration been successfully applied to questions which diplomacy confessed itself unable to solve. Formerly such a juncture meant war."²

Bering Sea
case.

¹ The United States had claimed the exclusive right to regulate the taking of seals anywhere in Bering Sea. The tribunal decided that the control extended only three miles from shore.

² Though these regulations apply only to Great Britain and the United

"Silver"
legislation.

428. **"Silver" Legislation; Financial Distress; Elections.** (1893.)—There was a very general feeling, particularly in the eastern and central states, that the "Sherman Act" of 1890 (sect. 417), by its clause requiring the regular monthly purchase by the Treasury of silver bullion, was greatly injurious to the financial interests of the country. President Cleveland called an extra session of Congress to meet in August, 1893, and recommended the repeal of the law. The fifty-third Congress met at the time appointed, organized by the reelection of Charles F. Crisp as Speaker, and after several weeks' discussion, mostly in the Senate, passed an act repealing the "compulsory purchase clause."¹

Financial
crisis, 1893.

The business situation of the country during the greater part of the year 1893 was very gloomy; not since 1873 had there been so many failures and such financial depression. Uncertainty as to the character and amount of the tariff legislation to be expected from the new Congress aggravated the troubles. It was not at all surprising that under these circumstances, as is so often the case, the party in power suffered.

The state elections of 1893 resulted in overwhelming successes for the Republicans, while in New Jersey, and particularly in New York, the friends of reform were greatly encouraged by the crushing defeat at the polls of the candidates nominated and supported by the political "rings."

States, it was expected that they would be sufficient to stop most of the destructive seeping.

¹ The repealing act was passed irrespective of party. The vote in the Senate was : for repeal, 20 Democrats ; 23 Republicans. Against repeal, 19 Democrats ; 9 Republicans ; 4 Populists. The vote in the House was : for repeal, 124 Democrats ; 69 Republicans. Against repeal 68 Democrats ; 18 Republicans ; 8 Populists.

429. Hawaii. (1893.)—A revolution in Hawaii took place January 14, 1893. Two days later a large public meeting denounced the queen and her advisers, and the "Committee of Safety" requested the protection of the United States; accordingly a detachment of troops was landed from a United States cruiser, in order, it was stated, to preserve peace and to protect American interests. The next day a "Provisional Government" was organized and set up, "until terms of union with the United States of America have been negotiated and agreed upon." The queen submitted under protest, and the government was recognized by the United States minister and other foreign representatives. Commissioners were sent to negotiate a treaty of annexation with the United States. The treaty was negotiated and sent to the Senate for confirmation February 15, but was not acted upon before the expiration of Harrison's term of office. On March 6, President Cleveland withdrew the treaty from the Senate, and then sent a special commissioner to Hawaii to investigate and report. Shortly after reaching Hawaii the commissioner declared the protectorate established by the American minister to be at an end, and ordered the United States flag, which had been raised over the government building, to be removed.

Hawaii.

Hawaiian
treaty with-
drawn.

On the return of the commissioner to the United States with his report, a new minister was sent out with instructions intended to restore, if possible, the queen to her former position, on the ground that it was the illegal use of United States troops which had brought success to the revolutionists.¹ Late in the year Congress requested infor-

¹ United States troops had previously been used in Hawaii to preserve order in 1874, and during the former administration of President Cleveland in 1889. Annexation was nearly accomplished in 1854, under President Pierce.

mation and papers relative to the matter from the President, which he sent, practically acknowledging the failure to settle the difficulties by diplomatic means, and leaving affairs in the hands of Congress.

Columbian
Exposition.

430. Close of the Columbian Exposition. (1893.) — The success of the Exposition at Chicago (sect. 423) far exceeded anticipations. A foreign visitor expressed the general opinion in saying: "Only those who have seen it can justly appreciate how far this latest of international exhibitions has surpassed all its predecessors in size, in splendor, and in greatness, both of conception and of execution." Probably the most striking feature of the exhibition was the excellent situation combining land and water advantages. The manner in which these advantages were utilized was admirable, and the architectural skill displayed in the buildings united great beauty of design and execution with adaptation to required needs. The attendance was over 27,000,000, more than double that of the Centennial Exhibition (sect. 381).

SUMMARY.

President Hayes was inaugurated in 1877. His administration was quiet and peaceful. Troops were withdrawn from the South, which became solidly Democratic. The "Silver Bill" was passed over the President's veto. There were serious railroad strikes accompanied with some loss of life and great loss of property. Jetties for improving the channel of the Mississippi River were successfully constructed.

The United States Treasury resumed specie payments January 1, 1879. James A. Garfield was elected President 1880, inaugurated 1881, and assassinated July 2, 1881. He died September 19, and was succeeded by the Vice-President, Chester A. Arthur. The Civil Service Act was passed, the Brooklyn Bridge completed, and Standard Time adopted by the railroads in 1883. The monument to the memory of Washington at the city of Washington was completed in 1885. In 1881

the centennial celebration of the surrender at Yorktown, Virginia, was celebrated. A cotton exposition was held at New Orleans, 1884, which showed the progress of the "New South."

Grover Cleveland was elected President in 1884. Important acts passed by Congress were the Presidential Succession Act (1886), the Interstate Commerce Act (1887), and the Chinese Exclusion Act (1888). There were many labor troubles, strikes, and riots. Charleston, South Carolina, suffered from an earthquake in 1886.

Harrison was elected President in 1888. The great Johnstown flood happened May 31, 1889. North Dakota, South Dakota, Montana, and Washington became states in 1889, Idaho and Wyoming in 1890, and Utah in 1896. Republicans pass the McKinley Tariff Bill and Pension Bill in 1893. The Census of 1890 showed a gratifying increase in population and a growth in all material interests. Difficulty arose with Italy in regard to Italian citizens killed in a riot at New Orleans. Serious labor outbreaks occurred at Homestead, Pennsylvania, 1892. The Columbian Exposition was held at Chicago, 1893.

Cleveland was elected President for a second time in 1892. The "compulsory silver purchase clause" was repealed in 1893. A revolution in Hawaii led to a proposition for annexation to the United States, but the project failed.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page xlix.

CHAPTER XX.

ECONOMIC, SOCIAL, AND LITERARY CONDITIONS.

REFERENCES.

The current periodicals, especially *American Review of Reviews*.

Interstate
emigration.

431. Interstate Emigration; Foreign Immigration. —

In the years which we have just been considering, many important movements have been going on in the country, some so silently as hardly to attract notice, while others have claimed attention from time to time. Among the most important of these has been the great westward march of emigrants within the country, made possible by the construction not only of the great trunk railroads, but also of the numerous branch roads, which have carried population far and wide. This native emigration has in the main been along the parallels of latitude.

Foreign im-
migration.

A greater movement has also been in progress. It is the habit of historians, and rightly so, to speak of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as the "period of colonization"; but the colonization of the last half of the nineteenth century has been on a vastly greater scale. From 1820 to 1893 there were landed in the United States over 16,000,000 immigrants,¹ more than one-third of these having come during the ten years ending June 30, 1890. For the last few years the average annual increase of population from this source has been over three hundred

¹ From 1820 to June 30, 1893, 16,443,823; 1893 to 1900, 2,158,100.

thousand. Most of these immigrants have become valuable citizens, and have adapted themselves to their new conditions of life though their influence on the country of their adoption has not had that attention which it deserves. Settling in communities, as many of them have done, mostly in the western states, preserving their language, and to some extent their customs, it was impossible for the social, political, and industrial conditions of life in America not to be modified by their influence. To a certain degree this statement is true of every part of the country where foreign immigrants have settled. Immigrants.

432. Urban Population. — Another movement which has been silently going on is the increase of the population living in cities and large towns. According to the census of 1890 nearly one-third of the total population was urban (Appendix VI.). This increase has been almost wholly in the North Atlantic states¹ and the northern central states.² It is due to several causes, largely to the rapid extension of manufactures and commerce, both of which require compact living. In the South and in most of the western states the urban population is relatively small. Urban population.

433. Irrigation ; Forest Reservations. — West of a line nearly corresponding to the 100th meridian west from Greenwich the territory of the United States, except in northern California and the western portions of Oregon and Washington, is arid or semi-arid, the natural rainfall not being sufficient to support agricultural crops.³ For a Irrigation.

¹ The New England states, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania; to which should be added Delaware and Maryland.

² In these states the increase has been mostly in Ohio, Illinois, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and Missouri.

³ See Introduction, pp. xiv-xvi.

Irrigation.

long period a large part of this region was spoken of as the "Great American Desert" and the "Bad Lands," and was regarded as uninhabitable. The example of the Mormons in Utah, and of settlers elsewhere, showed that water was the only thing needed, and that if this could be introduced, the problem of cultivating and inhabiting the arid region was solved. Already large tracts of California, Arizona, Colorado, Idaho, and other portions of the region have been brought into rich cultivation by means of more or less



VIEW OF AN IRRIGATED DISTRICT.

extensive systems of irrigation. The area which the existing water supplies will irrigate is as yet uncertain.

National
parks.

The acts of Congress establishing the Yosemite, the Sequoia, and the Yellowstone National parks, were highly approved by the people. An act passed in 1891, which attracted very little attention, was that providing for a series of national forest reservations; these aggregate more than twenty thousand square miles, an area nearly three times as great as the state of Massachusetts.¹ The purpose of this act is to preserve the forests and to guard the sources of the rivers and streams, so important for the welfare of the country, and essential for the permanence of the systems of irrigations rapidly being introduced.

¹ Though varying in size, they average about 1,000,000 acres each.

434. Natural Gas. — The fact that inflammable gas is generated in the earth has long been known. As early as 1824, on the occasion of Lafayette's visit to this country, a house in Fredonia, New York, was illuminated by natural gas in his honor. At places in Pennsylvania and Ohio this product was made use of in various ways. In the year 1878, while a well for oil was being sunk near Pittsburg, the whole apparatus was suddenly blown up, and great quantities of gas continued to escape from the

Natural gas.



A VIEW IN THE OIL DISTRICT, 1868.

From *Petrolia*, by Cone & Johns, New York, 1870.

opening. Pipes were laid from the well and the gas ignited, but no practical application was attempted for five years, when it was successfully used in the production of steel.¹ In 1884 it was introduced through long pipes into Pittsburg, where it was employed for all domestic and manufacturing purposes for which heat or light is needed. Many other wells were sunk in the Pittsburg district. At various places between the Alleghanies and the Rockies reservoirs of gas have been discovered by deep borings,

¹ Natural gas was first used in the manufacture of steel in 1875.

and the gas has been extensively used. Whether the supply will last for many years is problematical, as already in many wells the pressure has greatly diminished.

Invention.

435. Invention; Transportation; Inland Commerce. —

The advance in the practical application of scientific knowledge has continued to be very great. This is particularly true in regard to electricity, which is now used for illuminating purposes and for power in ways not before dreamed of. Thomas A. Edison, among others, has contributed greatly to this advance by his various discoveries and inventions. To him also is due the phonograph, an instrument by which sounds are recorded and reproduced at pleasure. Improvements in all branches of labor-saving machinery have been numerous. The variety of goods manufactured has been greatly increased, and the beauty and excellence of the products have kept pace with the production.

Transportation.

Nowhere has the growth of the country been more apparent than in the amount of freight carried by the railroads, and in inland traffic on the rivers and great lakes, where it now exceeds in value, importance, and tonnage the foreign commerce. The tonnage which now passes through the Sault Sainte Marie Canal, connecting Lake Superior and Lake Huron, and open only seven months of the year, is about double the tonnage which passes through the Suez Canal in twelve months.¹ The increase in the mileage of the railroads, and the improvements in the facilities for transportation, in the efficiency of the motive power, and in the character of both the freight and passenger service, as well as in strength of the rails, stability of the roadbed and bridges, and in

¹ The tonnage passing through the Sault Sainte Marie or St. Mary Canal in 1900 was 22,315,834.

the elegance and size of the terminal stations, have been very great.

436. The New South; the Pacific Coast. — While the whole country has partaken of this growth and development, in few parts of the land has there been such material advance as in the South. It is indeed "a New South." Where years ago cotton, tobacco, and naval stores were the chief products, iron, coal, and phosphate rock are mined in large quantities; cotton and iron mills have sprung up in many places; while oranges from Florida, and green vegetables from Florida, Georgia, the Carolinas, Mississippi, and Virginia, are sent north in carloads. Notwithstanding this diversity of interests, the cotton crop of 1892 was nearly double that of 1860;¹ while from the cotton seed, which in former days was thrown away or at best used for manure, valuable oil is pressed, and the cake which is left is used as food for cattle or as a fertilizer.² New lines of railroad have been opened, and thereby easy and rapid communication with other parts of the Union secured. Thousands of travellers annually visit Florida and the health resorts in the highlands of Georgia and the Carolinas.

On the Pacific coast also the growth and development have been great. In southern California the production of grapes, oranges, lemons, figs, nuts, raisins, plums, and other varieties of fruit has attained large proportions, and the native-grown product is rapidly driving the European out of the market. The climate of southern California, on

¹ The cotton crop of 1860 was estimated at 4,660,770 bales, that of 1892 at 9,038,707 bales, that of 1899 at 11,235,383 bales. It should be stated that the bales vary in weight; those for 1860 being about 400 lbs., those for 1899, about 487 lbs.

² There is about one ton of seed for every two bales of cotton.

account of its great salubrity, attracts many visitors in search of health or pleasure. Oregon and Washington have rapidly increased in population, and have become large exporters of agricultural and other products.

Education.

437. Education.—But a nation's growth and development should be not only on political and material lines, but on intellectual, social, and religious lines as well. It has been impracticable to do much more than refer to these subjects from time to time; but we have seen how deeply impressed the early colonists were with the importance of educating their children and youth; how schools and colleges were established in various colonies, some of which, as the Collegiate School in New York City, founded in 1633 by the Dutch, the Boston Latin School, founded in 1635, and the William Penn Charter School, Philadelphia, founded in 1689, still flourish and attest the foresight and wisdom of the fathers. As each new state has come into the Union, the education of the youth has claimed the serious and careful attention of her legislators; systems of education embracing schools, high schools, and colleges, have been established in almost every commonwealth, and the people have cheerfully taxed themselves to support them. Not only has public support been ungrudgingly bestowed, but private benefactions have been unexampled. In no country have there been nobler foundations than those of Johns Hopkins University, in Baltimore (1876); Tulane University, New Orleans (1884); Bryn Mawr College for Women, near Philadelphia (1885); Clark University, Worcester, Massachusetts (1889); Leland Stanford, Jr., University, California (1891); and Chicago University (1892). There have also been many endowments of professorships in colleges, and many new academies, high schools, and industrial and technical

schools founded; among the latter are Pratt Institute, Brooklyn, Drexel Institute, Philadelphia, and Armour Institute, Chicago. The facilities for the higher education of women have been greatly extended; most of the colleges and universities of the western states have been coeducational from their foundation; eastern colleges are slowly opening their doors to women, while Vassar (1866), Smith (1871), Wellesley (1875), and Bryn Mawr (1885), all founded by private beneficence, offer educational advantages of the highest grade exclusively to women. In connection with education, there has been since 1889 great interest in what is known as University Extension, the purpose of which is to spread education more widely by means of lectures, courses of reading, classes, and examinations. Nor should the Chautauqua Literary and Scientific Circle be omitted. This association was organized in 1878, for the "purpose of promoting habits of reading and study in nature, art, science, and in secular and sacred literature in connection with the routine of daily life." Studies are carried on under the direction of competent teachers by means of correspondence, aided by the mutual interchange of views by those who are pursuing similar courses of reading or study in any given neighborhood. During the summer, instruction is given on the delightful shores of Chautauqua Lake in western New York, and at other places. Summer schools are held at various places, chiefly for the benefit of teachers, or for purposes of special research or instruction.

The importance of the physical training of the body has been fully recognized; large and thoroughly equipped gymnasiums have been erected for the purpose of carrying out exercises carefully arranged, with the intention not only of developing the physical powers, but of remedying physical defects.

Education.

Chautauqua.

Physical training.

Libraries.

438. Libraries; Associations. — The desire to spread and to advance knowledge has also been shown by the growth in the number of general and special libraries, and by the great pains which have been taken to devise and carry out those systems of library administration best calculated to encourage and facilitate reading and study. Many libraries have been founded by private beneficence, such as the Newberry Library, Chicago; the Astor Library, New



THE NEWBERRY LIBRARY, CHICAGO.

York; the Enoch Pratt Library, Baltimore, and the many free libraries established or strengthened by the munificent gifts of Andrew Carnegie. Others have been started or supported by the people, as the Public Libraries of Boston and Worcester, Massachusetts, and of Cincinnati and many other places.

Societies for
research.

The spirit of investigation has shown itself from time to time in the United States by the formation of many societies whose purpose is to encourage study and research by publishing reports, by mutual interchange of views, and in other ways. The oldest of these, the American Philo-

sophical Society of Philadelphia, founded by Benjamin Franklin in 1743, is still in active operation. Another body, the American Association for the Advancement of Science (1848), holding its annual meeting at a different place each year, has done much to increase local interest in the subjects brought before it. Associa-
tions.

The Smithsonian Institution at Washington, founded in accordance with the bequest of a wealthy Englishman, is almost a government institution; it has done much to further the advancement of science by the publication and distribution of scientific books and papers. Smithsonian
Institution.

Since 1876 the increase in the number of associations formed for the encouragement of special lines of research in nearly all branches of knowledge is remarkable.

439. Literature. — During the earlier years of the American colonies there was little time to devote to anything which was not obviously practical in its application; the purely literary man was almost unknown. To the colonists of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, two subjects, however, were of the highest importance, — religion and politics; and works on these two subjects were abundant, particularly in the field of politics. The political pamphlets and addresses issued from the colonial press of the eighteenth century are not surpassed in vigor by those published in England, or indeed, upon the continent of Europe during the same period. The names of John Dickinson, Thomas Jefferson, John Adams, Benjamin Franklin, and Alexander Hamilton are deservedly held in high esteem for their writings in this field. Literature.

General literature was at a low ebb for a long time, and it was not until Charles Brockden Brown published his novels during the last years of the eighteenth century, that there was much indication of a literature that could be called

Literature.

American. William Cullen Bryant (1794-1878), with his "Thanatopsis" (1817), was the forerunner of poets soon to follow. The founding of *The North American Review* (1815), also indicated an increase of literary interest. James Fenimore Cooper (1789-1851), who published his first novel in 1821, showed not only that America could produce writers, but also that in the New World were scenes and characters admirably fitted for their pen.

Novelists.

Washington Irving (1783-1859), by his graceful essays and sketches and his pure English, did much to raise the estimation in which American literature was held, both at home and abroad. About 1840 new writers came into prominence: among them Henry Wadsworth Longfellow (1807-1882), whose works are familiar the land over, and also John

Poets.

Greenleaf Whittier (1807-1892), the Quaker poet, whose ballads and poems of nature are truly American in subject and in sympathy. Oliver Wendell Holmes (born in 1809), the genial essayist, poet, and humorist; James Russell Lowell (1819-1891), the satirist, critic, and poet; Nathaniel Hawthorne (1804-1864), America's greatest romancer; Edgar Allan Poe (1811-1849), the author of weird poems and tales; Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), the philosopher, poet, and essayist,—these showed that in

Historians.

purely literary work America was accomplishing much. George Bancroft (1800-1891), with his *History of the United States*, the first volume of which was published in 1834; William H. Prescott (1796-1859), with his histories of the Spanish power in Spain and in the New World; Richard Hildreth (1807-1865), with his *History of the United States*; John Lothrop Motley (1814-1877), with his works on the Netherlands; Francis Parkman (1823-1893), with his series of volumes on "France and England in North America," besides many other writers,—show that

in the field of historical research the writers of America take a high rank. Similar statements in regard to all departments of knowledge would be equally true.

One of the striking features of the recent literature of the United States is the appearance of able writers in the southern states who have entered every field and whose novels and dialect stories are written in a style peculiarly their own.

The magazines of the United States, of which *Harper's*, *The Century*, and *Scribner's* are examples, lead the world in beauty of execution and of illustration. Magazines.

The newspapers of America have multiplied wonderfully, and their scope has been widened until in the daily press almost every subject that is likely to interest readers is treated by specialists, while at the same time no effort or expense is spared to furnish the latest and most accurate news. The great dailies of New York, Chicago, Philadelphia, and Boston are marvels of enterprise. Newspapers.

SUMMARY.

The westward emigration has had great influence on the development of the country. There has also been great immigration from Europe, but the immigrants have been assimilated. There has been during the past few decades a marked tendency of the population toward the cities. Irrigation has been largely introduced into the arid lands of the West with excellent results. National parks have been established and forest reservations authorized. Natural gas has been utilized, where it has been found, for the purpose of heating, lighting, and for fuel for manufacturing. The growth in the amount of goods transported has been very large. The "New South" and the Pacific coast have been greatly developed in the line of agricultural products and in manufacturing. Educational and literary development have accompanied material growth.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page 1.

CHAPTER XXI.

SOCIAL AFFAIRS; POLITICS; DIPLOMACY.

REFERENCES

The magazines of the period, especially *American Review of Reviews*.

- Wilson Bill. **440. Wilson Bill; Senate Bill. (1894.)**—A part of the Democratic programme after the success in the elections of 1892 (sect. 426) was the revision of the tariff. At the first session of the fifty-third Congress, William L. Wilson, Chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, introduced a new tariff bill, called "An Act to reduce taxation and provide revenue for the government, and for other purposes." Its important features were the extensive use of the principle of *ad valorem* duties,¹ the general reduction in rates, and a tax on all incomes exceeding \$4000. When the bill came before the Senate it was discussed at length, and was very much altered. This "Senate Bill" was finally accepted by the House of Representatives. The President, unwilling to veto the bill, and thus leave the McKinley tariff in force, could not sign it without approving measures against which he had spoken strongly. He accordingly allowed the bill, which was pleasing to few, to become a law without his signature (Constitution, Art. I, sect. 7 (2)). As the Supreme Court soon decided that the income tax was unconstitutional, the expected receipts from this tax were cut off, and the revenues of the government fell below the expenditures.

¹ Duties levied according to the value of the goods.

441. Pullman and Railroad Strikes; Coal Miners' Strikes. (1894.)—There were many labor troubles in 1894. A strike begun by the employees of the great car works at Pullman, a suburb of Chicago, was one of the most serious that has occurred in the United States. The Pullman Company was urged by a committee of the men, and by many outsiders, some of them prominent citizens, to submit the question at issue to arbitration, but they refused, saying, "The Company has nothing to arbitrate." Many of the men were members of the "American Railway Union," an organization of railroad employees. This union made the cause of the strikers its own, and passed a resolution that unless the Pullman Company should agree to arbitrate, all members of the Union would, after a certain date, refuse to handle Pullman cars or any trains of which Pullman cars formed a part. The company declined to recede from its position; the "boycott" of its cars began, and soon became widespread, as the railroad companies refused to stop running Pullman cars. Nearly every railroad west of the state of Ohio was more or less affected.

Pullman
strikes,
1894.

The stoppage of trains obstructed the carrying of the mails, and interfered with interstate commerce. The injunctions of the United States courts requiring the strikers to cease this interference were disregarded, and the President sent troops from the regular army for the purpose of restoring the mail service and enforcing federal laws. Meanwhile, in spite of the presence of state and federal troops and the police, angry crowds destroyed property, demolished railroad cars, and tore up or rendered useless miles of railroad track. Conflicts took place between the troops and the crowd, and lives were lost. Some of the officers of the American Railway Union were

Conflicts.

sent to jail for refusing to obey the orders of the courts. At length the strike came to an end; but the losses resulting from the troubles were many millions of dollars.¹

Miners' strike.

Earlier in the year a strike begun by the coke-burners in Pennsylvania spread to the miners in the coal regions, until 130,000 men or more were involved. This strike lasted several months, was accompanied by rioting and loss of life, and cost millions of dollars.

Reform in New York City.

442. New York City Reforms; "Coxey's Army." (1894.)—In 1894 the New York Legislature, compelled by public opinion, appointed a committee to investigate the New York City police department. As a result of the facts brought to light, and of a sentiment which had been growing in the community for some time, a reform ticket was chosen at the next election by a large majority. This success had much influence in furthering reform all over the country.

"Coxey's Army."

A strange movement took place in the same year. Large numbers of working-men and tramps started from points in the West for Washington, with the idea of demanding help from Congress. Generally known, from the chief leader, as "Coxey's Army," they called themselves "Commonwealers." The "army" was greatly diminished in numbers before it reached Washington, where two or three of the leaders were arrested for violating local regulations. The movement soon came to an end.

Anti-lottery bill.

443. Anti-lottery Bill; National Military Park; Atlanta Exposition. (1895.)—For the complete suppression of lotteries (sect. 417) Congress passed (1895) a new bill forbidding the transmission of lottery tickets, or anything relating to lotteries, through the mails or by means of national or interstate commerce.

¹ There was also during the strike serious rioting in California.

In September, 1895, two notable events took place in the South: the dedication of the National Chickamauga and Chattanooga Military Park, and the opening of the "Cotton States and International Exposition" at Atlanta.

Military
parks.

The Military Park consists of about ten square miles, and includes the site of great battles fought in 1863 (sect. 326). The ground was purchased jointly by the United States and the states of Georgia and Tennessee. At the dedication there was a fraternal reunion of United States and Confederate officers and troops.

The Atlanta Exposition was opened on the 18th of September. It ranks next to the Centennial and the Columbian Expositions as the most successful held in the United States. The wonderful progress made since 1865 by the "New South" has nowhere been more clearly shown.

Atlanta
Exposition.

444. Republican Nominations. (1896.) — In the elections of 1894 the Republicans made great gains, and in the House of Representatives their majority was 133. Thomas B. Reed of Maine was chosen Speaker (sect. 415). As the campaign of 1896 drew near, it became evident that the free coinage of silver would be made a leading issue.

Political
nominations,
1896.

The Republican convention was held at St. Louis, and William McKinley of Ohio was nominated for President and Garret A. Hobart of New Jersey for Vice-President. The most important paragraph of the platform was one in favor of the maintenance of the present gold standard for the currency. A dramatic incident of the convention was the withdrawal of a few delegates who upheld the free coinage of silver, and who refused to continue longer with their party.

Gold
standard.

445. Democratic Nominations. (1896.) — The Demo-

Democratic
nominations,
1866.

cratic convention met at Chicago. Among other things, the platform advocated the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1.¹ It "denounced the arbitrary interference by federal authorities in local affairs as a violation of the Constitution of the United States, and a crime against free institutions," and especially objected to the use of injunctions by the judiciary. A striking incident of this convention was an impassioned speech by William J. Bryan, a delegate from Nebraska. This speech led to his nomination for President. Arthur Sewall of Maine was nominated for Vice-President.

Populists.

446. Populists' and Other Conventions. (1866.) — The "Populist" or People's party convention, when it met, accepted the Democratic candidate for President, but nominated Thomas E. Watson of Georgia for Vice-President.

The Prohibition party at its convention divided, and each wing nominated its own candidates. The Socialist Labor party also nominated candidates.

Gold
standard
Democrats.

There was so much dissatisfaction both with the platform and the candidates of the Chicago convention that many prominent Democratic newspapers rejected them and declared for the gold standard, and thousands of Democrats did the same. Later a convention representing the gold standard Democrats met at Indianapolis and nominated as candidates John M. Palmer of Illinois and Simon B. Buckner of Kentucky. The convention adopted the name of the "National Democratic Party."

Campaign
of 1866.

447. The Presidential Campaign. (1866.) — The Presidential campaign of 1866 was one of the most exciting and important that has ever taken place. It was a contest

¹ That is, a silver dollar should weigh sixteen times as much as a gold dollar.

respecting principles, and party platforms never received more attention. The amount of financial and political literature distributed and read was enormous, and political speeches almost without number were delivered. The coöperation of very many "gold standard" Democrats greatly increased the Republican strength, and McKinley and Hobart were elected by a large majority of the electoral vote, and by a plurality of over 600,000 of the popular vote.

McKinley
elected.



WILLIAM MCKINLEY.

448. Venezuelan Boundary. (1895-1896.)—There had been for many years a dispute between Great Britain and Venezuela regarding the boundary dividing the latter from British Guiana.

WILLIAM MCKINLEY was born in Ohio, January 29, 1843. He was educated in the public schools and at Allegheny College. He enlisted as a private, 1861, and rose to the rank of major. He left the army July, 1865, and studied law. He was member of Congress 1876-1891, and became chairman of the committee on Ways and Means. He was defeated for Congress in 1890. Elected governor of Ohio 1891, and reelected 1893. He was elected President in 1896, and reelected in 1900.

Venezuela wished to submit the boundary question to arbitration, but Great Britain refused to do so. In July, 1895, Mr. Olney, the United States Secretary of State, addressed a note to the British government stating that the United States was opposed to a forcible increase of the British possessions in America, referring to the Monroe Doctrine (sect. 208) in support of his position, and urging the British government to submit the matter to arbitration. A reply was received late in November declining to do this. President Cleveland promptly sent

Venezuelan
boundary.

Venezuela.

to Congress a special message on the subject. The apparently warlike tone of this message threw the whole country into great excitement. The President having suggested the appointment of a commission "to determine what is the true divisional line between Venezuela and British Guiana," Congress authorized such action, and the President appointed five commissioners, who entered at once upon their duties. The agitation calmed down, and the negotiations with Great Britain went on. In November, 1896, the British government consented to arbitrate upon a basis honorable to all parties.

Arbitration.

The excitement which accompanied the Venezuelan discussion so aroused the two countries to the danger of sudden quarrels, and to the inexpediency of resorting to war, that a treaty was drafted for the creation of a tribunal of arbitration to settle disputes which may arise in future between Great Britain and the United States. There was much public approval of the treaty, but the Senate failed to ratify it, and the subject was dropped.

SUMMARY.

A new tariff act was passed in 1894. Serious strikes took place in the central western states in 1894. The Presidential campaign of 1896 was an exciting one; the main issue was the financial question. William McKinley was elected by a good majority over all competitors and by a very large plurality. The Venezuelan boundary question created much excitement for a short time.

For Topical Analysis, see Appendix X., page li.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE WAR WITH SPAIN AND TERRITORIAL EXPANSION.

REFERENCES.

Greater America, published by Perry Mason & Co., Boston ; American Review of Reviews, and current periodicals.

449. Spain; the Cuban Question. (1800-1899.) — Early Spain. in the nineteenth century, Spain began to lose the vast American empire which she had held for nearly three hundred years. By 1825, she retained only Cuba, Porto Rico, and a few small islands near them. These islands would have been a source of wealth and power to Spain had they been fairly ruled and liberally treated.

Cuba, the "Pearl of the Antilles," has dense forests, is Cuba. rich in mineral wealth, and is wonderfully fertile. It is an island which any nation might be proud to own. But all offices of profit were given to Spaniards, and little of the money that was wrung from the overtaxed islanders was spent in the island.

The Spaniards in Cuba were for the most part men Spaniards without families, and were in Cuba solely for the sake of in Cuba. personal gain. They treated the Creoles¹ with a contempt which was matched only by the hatred of the Creoles for their oppressors.

This feeling of hatred toward Spain grew stronger, and a large number of Cubans waited only for a good chance

¹ A Creole in the West Indies is a native Spanish-American, usually a descendant of the earlier settlers.

Spaniards
in Cuba.

to break into open rebellion. In 1868, a revolution in Spain gave the wished-for opportunity, and an insurrection broke out in Cuba which lasted for ten years. The peace of 1878 which followed amounted to little more than a truce.

Spain did not keep her promises, or cease her acts of oppression. "The island continued to be utterly, hopelessly, and shamelessly misgoverned." In 1895 there was a new insurrection. At first Spain looked upon it as little more than a riot, but the revolt spread. Larger forces were sent to Cuba, but without avail. The insurgent Cubans declared that they would rather be exterminated than yield.

Reconcentration.

The insurgents rarely took the offensive, and generally avoided a conflict, preferring a guerilla warfare. They were kept well informed of the movements of the Spanish troops by means of spies and sympathizers. To prevent the insurgents from getting information, and to make it more difficult for them to obtain food, Captain-General Weyler issued his reconcentration order. The purpose of this order was to collect the people of a district near a town or place where Spanish troops were stationed, and in this way have them under close guard. In carrying out this order, innocent farmers and planters were driven from their homes and collected in or around the towns. Their houses were burned and their plantations were laid waste. Unable to get sufficient food and shelter, and herded together like cattle, thousands of these helpless people died of hunger and disease.¹

¹ It is estimated that by March, 1897, 300,000 persons were thus herded within the towns, or in their immediate neighborhood; and even the Spaniards admitted that more than one-half of these perished. "This," said President McKinley, "was not civilized warfare. It was extermination." It

450. The United States and Cuba. (1825-1897.) The *United States and Cuba.* "**Virginus.**" (1873.)—The United States has always been deeply interested in the affairs of Cuba. Lying at the mouth of the Gulf of Mexico, and only a few miles from Key West, the island could be made an enemy's base for attack in time of war. In time of peace its productions would naturally seek a market in the United States.

From time to time the annexation of Cuba had been proposed, and more than one of the presidents of the United States had thought well of it. President Polk, in 1848, had offered Spain \$100,000,000 for the island, but the offer was promptly rejected.

The most unfriendly act of the United States toward Spain was the "Ostend Manifesto," issued in 1854, already described (sect. 284). Time and again, however, the United States held aloof from interfering even when the provocation was great.¹ Filibustering expeditions from the United States (sect. 283) were stopped, and great efforts were made to keep the peace and to be a good neighbor.

While the rebellion lasted in Cuba, 1868-1878, there were many times when the patience of the United States was sorely tried by the injury to her trade, and by the atrocities committed in the island. In October, 1873, the steamer *Virginus*, sailing under the American flag, was captured at sea by a Spanish war vessel, and taken into *The Virginus.*

is thought that in all 250,000 people perished as the result of this order. Those treated in this manner were called "reconcentrados." The distress in Cuba was not, by any means, wholly caused by this barbarous policy. It must be remembered that many plantations were laid waste by the war and that the industries of the island were prostrated. The devastation was the work of insurgents as well as of Spaniards.

¹ John Quincy Adams, and President Grant in 1875, offered to mediate—the only instances of the kind up to 1894.

the harbor of Santiago de Cuba. Here fifty-three of her passengers and crew were shot.¹

The excitement in the United States over this occurrence was great, and it seemed at one time as if war might result. A protest having been made by the United States, Spain gave up the *Virginius*, and paid a large sum for the benefit of the families of the Americans who had been shot.

American
interests in
Cuba.

451. Affairs in Cuba; American Interests; American Protests. (1897.)—Americans had invested large sums of money in sugar plantations and other interests in Cuba. The trade of the United States with Cuba grew to large proportions. As a result of the rebellion of 1895, and the policy of destruction followed by Spain, a vast amount of property belonging to Americans was destroyed, and the profitable trade with the island ruined.

Popular feeling in the United States was deeply moved by the stories of cruelty in the island. In accordance with this feeling President Cleveland, in April, 1896, offered to mediate between Spain and the Cubans, but his offer was declined.

United
States
protests.

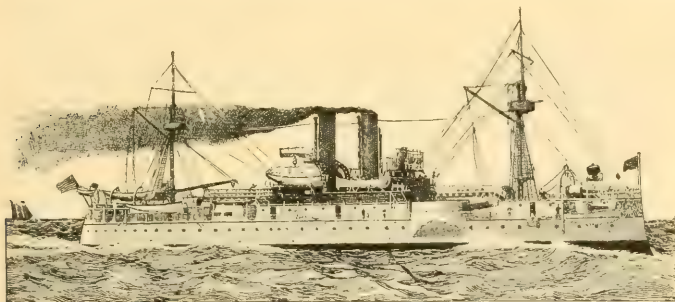
In 1897 the Spanish Prime Minister was assassinated at Madrid and a new ministry came into power. Upon the protests of the United States, General Weyler was recalled from Cuba. Spain promised to make reforms, to give the Cubans some degree of self-government, and to release Americans imprisoned in Cuba. This last was done, and Captain-General Blanco was sent out as governor.

The Cubans, however, had no confidence in Spain, and refused to accept anything short of independence.

¹ There was some doubt whether the registry of the *Virginius* had not been obtained by fraud. It was a fact that more than once, between 1870 and 1873, she had landed men and supplies for the rebels. The action of the Spanish authorities at Santiago was, however, without warrant.

452. The Destruction of the "Maine"; Report of the Court of Inquiry. (1898.)—The United States in January, 1898, sent the battleship *Maine* on a friendly naval visit to Havana. She had been lying in the harbor three weeks, when about 10 o'clock in the evening of February 15 she was destroyed by an explosion. Two officers and 258 of her men perished. At once intense excitement prevailed in the United States, and the cry, "Remember the *Maine*!" was heard everywhere. The President appointed

Destruction
of the
Maine,
February 15,
1898.



U. S. BATTLESHIP "MAINE."

From a photograph, by permission of the Soule Photograph Co.

four officers of the navy as a board of inquiry. After careful examination they reported, March 21, that the *Maine* had been blown up by a mine placed under the ship, and that no evidence was found as to who was responsible for the disaster.

The Spanish government claimed that the explosion had taken place inside the vessel, and proposed that the whole question be left to a board of arbitration. To this offer the United States made no reply.

453. President McKinley's Message to Congress, April, 1898.—Meantime affairs in Cuba had not improved.

President McKinley spoke of them as "intolerable." There seemed no reason to expect any improvement unless the United States should intervene.

McKinley's
message.

President McKinley, accordingly, in April, 1898, sent a special message to Congress in which he said: "It is plain that it (the insurrection) cannot be extinguished by present methods. In the name of humanity, in the name of civilization, in the behalf of endangered American interests, which give us the right and duty to speak and to act, the war in Cuba must stop." The President asked Congress to give him power to use measures to end the hostilities between Spain and the Cubans.

454. Resolutions regarding Cuba passed by Congress ; Declaration of War. (1898.)—On April 10, Congress



MORRO CASTLE, OPPOSITE HAVANA.

From a photograph

Cuban
resolutions.

passed a series of resolutions declaring: "(1) That the people of the island of Cuba are and of right ought to be free and independent. (2) That it is the duty of the United States to demand that Spain should give up Cuba and withdraw its forces from the island. (3) That the President is directed and empowered to use all the forces of the United States and to call out the militia in order to carry out these resolutions. (4) That the United States disclaims any intention of control over said island except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination,

when that is accomplished, to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

These resolutions were cabled to the American Minister in Madrid, who was directed to inform the Spanish government that an answer must be given by April 23. Before he could see the Spanish authorities, his passports were sent to him. This action meant that Spain would have no intercourse with the United States. It meant war. Congress, April 25, declared that war existed between the United States and Spain.

War with
Spain, 1898.

455. Public Opinion in the United States; Preparation for the War. (1898.) Public opinion in the United States had been much divided in regard to the Cuban difficulties. Many persons felt that, while war was almost sure to come, wisdom required delay. The army and navy were not ready and the rainy season was almost at hand, when the Cuban climate would be very hurtful to Americans. Some thought that all efforts for a peaceful solution of the troubles had not been tried. Others believed that war would be unjustifiable. But the division was in no sense sectional. When the war broke out, from all parts of the country men enlisted in the army and navy. More closely united than at any time since 1861, North and South, East and West, stood side by side in support of the government.

Public
opinion in
the United
States.

Congress gave the Secretary of the Treasury the authority to borrow \$200,000,000. When the loan was advertised, more than seven times the amount called for was offered.

This loan would supply funds for a short time, but much more would be needed. Congress therefore passed a "War Revenue Act" like the Internal Revenue Acts of the Civil War; this act provided for taxes on numerous

"War
Revenue
Act."

War Revenue Act.

articles.¹ This act was successful in bringing in a large sum of money every year.

The navy.

456. The Navy; Blockade of Cuba; United States Coast Defences. (1898.)—It was clear that most of the fighting would take place outside of the United States and that the navy would take an important part. The President issued a proclamation declaring the blockade of a large part of the coast of Cuba. The carrying out of this order was given to Captain (afterward Admiral) William T. Sampson. In anticipation of an attack upon the Atlantic coast of the United States, a squadron of war vessels, under Captain (afterward Admiral) Winfield S. Schley, was stationed at Fortress Monroe. Meanwhile the swiftest vessels in the navy patrolled the coast to give warning of the coming of any Spanish ships. Every harbor from Texas to Maine was laid with submarine mines to be used in case of attack. Old forts were manned, guns placed in position, and a watch was kept for the approach of the enemy.

War in the Pacific

457. War in the Pacific; Dewey's Victory at Manila. (1898.)—When war was declared, Commodore George Dewey was in command of the United States Asiatic squadron then lying at Hong-Kong, China. He was ordered by cable to proceed at once to the Philippine Islands, and "capture or destroy the Spanish fleet," which was there.

He entered Manila Bay early Sunday morning, May 1. The Spanish fleet lying in the harbor was protected by

¹ The tax was paid in many cases by means of stamps which could be bought only of the government. Patent medicines, toilet articles, etc., were required to bear stamps, before they could be sold, while bank checks, mortgages, and many other documents had to be stamped to be legal. Heavy taxes were also placed on legacies.

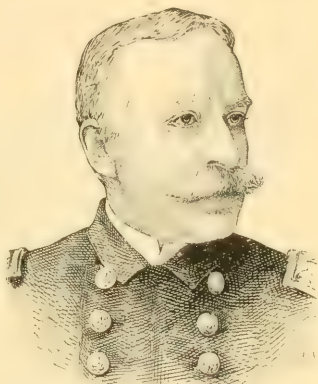
the guns of the batteries at Cavité, a few miles from Manila.

The Spaniards knew that he had left Hong-Kong, but he came sooner than he was expected and caught them unawares. He had planned to do this so that he might choose his own time for attack. As soon as he reached Manila Bay he opened upon the Spanish fleet a terrible fire of shot and shell. His fire was answered vigorously from the war vessels and the shore batteries, but the guns of the enemy were not well aimed and their shot did little damage. After a sharp fight of about two hours, Dewey withdrew his fleet, in order, it is said, to give his men time for breakfast, but more likely to see how his ammunition was holding out.

After three hours he returned to the attack. By this time most of the Spanish vessels were in flames. An hour later the Spanish "batteries were silenced, and the ships sunk or burned, and deserted." In the conflict the Spaniards lost every vessel, and hundreds of men were killed, wounded, and missing. No American was killed, and but six were wounded; while no American vessel was seriously damaged.¹

The battle of Manila was a great naval action; seldom,

¹ The American fleet was much smaller than the Spanish, but the ships were larger and more formidable. On the other hand, the Spanish ships were protected by the land batteries.



Dewey at
Manila Bay,
May 1, 1898.

ADMIRAL DEWEY.

From a photograph, 1899.

if ever, had so much been won with so little loss of life and ships. Congress made Dewey a rear admiral, gave him a vote of thanks, and voted him a sword.¹

Dewey could easily have taken the city of Manila, but as he had not force enough to hold it, he waited for more troops. Meantime he blockaded the harbor.



MANILA AND THE PASIG RIVER.

Showing the Magellan Monument and the Stone Bridge connecting the walled city with Binondo.

Cervera's
fleet.

458. Admiral Cervera's Fleet; Santiago Harbor; Hobson's Feat. (1898.)—The destruction of the Spanish fleet at Manila relieved the Pacific coast of the United States from fear of attack. The Spanish Atlantic fleet, however, was at the Cape Verde Islands, and no one knew where it might go. Would Admiral Cervera, its commander, bombard one of the American cities? Would he break the blockade? Would he attack the American fleet? Would he try to meet and destroy the United States

¹ Soon after the war, Dewey was made admiral, the highest rank in the navy.

battleship *Oregon*, which was on her way from San Francisco to the Atlantic coast?¹

Cervera sailed, and the first news of him was that he had reached Martinique; then he went to Curaçao, a Dutch island off the coast of Venezuela. Cervera's fleet.

Swift steamers searched the Caribbean Sea to find him, until it was learned that he had put into the harbor of Santiago, on the southern coast of Cuba. Here he was at once blockaded by the fleets of Sampson and Schley. Cervera at Santiago.

The entrance to the harbor is through a narrow, winding channel, from whose shores rise lofty hills. In order to obstruct the channel it was determined to sink a vessel in the narrowest part. This difficult feat was intrusted to Ensign Richmond P. Hobson and six men. They performed their dangerous task, notwithstanding a severe fire from the Spanish land batteries. They were captured, but Admiral Cervera was so moved by their bravery that he sent word to the Americans that they were safe and would be well treated.²

459. Santiago Campaign; El Caney and San Juan. Santiago campaign.
(1898.) Meanwhile the blockade of Cuba had been kept up, and preparations made for a land campaign in the

¹ The battleship *Oregon* was stationed on the Pacific coast, but after the destruction of the *Maine*, it was thought best to order her to the Atlantic. She sailed from San Francisco March 10, 1898, on her voyage round Cape Horn, — a distance of about 15,000 miles. It was feared that she might be attacked before her commander knew that war had begun, and the news of war was telegraphed to every port at which she might call. She made the long voyage in safety, reaching Florida May 25, and at once took her place in the attacking fleet and did effective service.

² Just as Hobson was about to sink the *Merrimac*, the vessel chosen, a shot from the Spaniards broke her rudder chains so that she could not be steered. Owing to this fact, she sank too far within the harbor, and failed to obstruct the channel as had been planned. Hobson and his companions, some weeks later, were exchanged for Spanish prisoners.

island. Troops were hurried from different points in the United States to the Atlantic seaboard, and great camps established at various places for drilling and organizing the volunteers. About two hundred thousand men entered the service; young men of all ranks, and also



A VIEW IN EASTERN CUBA.

From a photograph.

veterans of the Federal and Confederate armies, quickly volunteered.¹

Santiago
campaign.

Santiago was already blockaded by sea, and it was determined to attack it by land. An army of sixteen thousand men under General William R. Shafter was landed

¹ Soon after the beginning of hostilities, Colonel Leonard Wood, since General, and Theodore Roosevelt, since governor of New York, and Vice-President of the United States, but then Assistant Secretary of the U. S. Navy, volunteered to aid in raising a regiment of cavalry. Both were well known in the West, and many "cowboys" from the plains and from Texas joined the regiment, with many wealthy young men from the East. This body was known as "Roosevelt's Rough Riders."

not many miles from the city, and the advance against the enemy was almost immediately begun.

The conditions were very unfavorable: the tropical heat was terrible; the close, rank undergrowth made advance slow, and hid the enemy from view; the bad roads made



SAN JUAN HARBOR.

View from Casa Bianca, Ponce de Leon's House.

it difficult to move the heavy guns, and prevented the prompt forwarding of food supplies. In addition to all this, the rainy season had begun.

A vigorous attack, July 1 and 2, upon the Spanish at El Caney and San Juan resulted in victory for the Americans.

El Caney
and San
Juan.

460. Destruction of Cervera's Fleet. (1898.)—The

Spanish troops having been forced back, an assault upon the city was planned.

Destruction
of Cervera's
fleet.

On Sunday morning, July 3, Admiral Cervera, under orders from the Spanish government, made a desperate dash out of the harbor and put to sea. At once the American fleet opened fire and pursued the Spanish vessels, which had turned toward the west. Shot and shell were poured upon the flying ships. Cervera believed that his vessels were so much swifter than the American ships that there was some hope of escape. It was a vain hope; in less than four hours every Spanish ship was destroyed. Hundreds of the Spaniards were killed, and Admiral Cervera and about twelve hundred of his men were made prisoners. The Americans lost one killed and three wounded, and their vessels suffered little injury.¹

Santiago
surrendered.

461. Surrender of Santiago; Porto Rico Campaign; Spain sues for Peace; Fall of Manila. (1898.)—The city of Santiago was now untenable. Cuban insurgents held the roads by which reënforcements might come; the American lines were close to the city; Cervera's fleet was destroyed and the United States fleet blockaded the harbor. The Spanish general surrendered the city July 17, with all the eastern part of the island.

Porto Rico
campaign.

Porto Rico was the next point of attack.² The direction of the campaign was given to Major-General Miles, the commander-in-chief. Landing on the southern coast, where he was not expected, he met with little opposition.

¹ The Spanish fleet consisted of four vessels, none of which were battleships, and two torpedo-boat destroyers. The American fleet consisted, at the time of the action, of eight vessels, four of them battleships. Cervera's only hope lay in speed, and he knew that most of his fleet would probably be lost, but he was compelled to obey orders.

² Admiral Sampson had already bombarded San Juan on the northern coast, but the action was indecisive.

The Spanish forces retreated, and the people welcomed the United States troops. The conquest of the island was being pushed forward successfully and rapidly, when news of peace stopped all fighting.

On July 26, the Spanish government, through the French ambassador at Washington, asked upon what terms the United States would make peace. It was more than two weeks before Spain would agree to the terms offered. Meantime Admiral Dewey was blockading Manila harbor and waiting for reënforcements. It was no easy task to secure on the Pacific coast transports enough to carry the large body of troops needed. Though the first body of men had left San Francisco May 25, it was the last of July before the commanding officer, Major-General Wesley Merritt, and Admiral Dewey thought it safe to make a land attack upon the city, and it was not until August 13 that the city surrendered.

462. Terms of Peace ; Treaty signed December 10, 1898.

— On August 12, M. Cambon, the French ambassador at Washington, on behalf of Spain signed the protocol or first draft of a treaty of peace. Orders were at once given to cease hostilities, but before the order could reach the Philippines, Manila had fallen.

The Peace Commissioners appointed by Spain and the United States met at Paris in October (1898) to discuss the terms of peace. It was not until the 10th of Decem-

Peace negotiations.



GENERAL N. A. MILES.

Manila.
surrenders.

Peace.

ber that the Spaniards could agree to the terms proposed by the United States and sign the treaty.

The most important provisions of the treaty were: (1) Spain relinquished all claim of sovereignty over and title to Cuba. (2) Spain ceded to the United States the island of Porto Rico and other islands then under Spanish

Terms of
peace.



A NATIVE MARKET IN MANILA.

From a photograph.

sovereignty in the West Indies, and the island Guam in the Mariannes or Ladrones. (3) Spain ceded to the United States the archipelago known as the Philippine Islands. The United States agreed to pay to Spain the sum of twenty million dollars within three months after the exchange of the ratifications of the treaty. (4) The civil rights and political status of the native inhabitants of the territories ceded to the United States should be determined by Congress. (5) The inhabitants of the territories over which Spain relinquished or ceded her

sovereignty should be secured in the full exercise of their religion.¹

463. Senate ratified the Treaty February 6, 1899; Opinions regarding the Treaty. (1899-1900.)—The President sent the treaty of peace to the Senate January 4, and after four weeks of discussion, it was passed (February 6, 1899) by an affirmative vote of fifty-seven, or one more than the necessary two-thirds majority.

Treaty
ratified.

The provision which caused the most discussion was that regarding the Philippines. Many felt that to acquire them as a possession meant to plunge the country into great difficulties. Very few of the people of the islands were fit to become citizens; but could they be anything else, if the islands became part of the United States? The ownership of the islands would be likely to involve the country in trouble with European nations. To keep them, it was further stated, would be an entire change of policy for the country, and was opposed to the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the good advice in Washington's Farewell Address.

The
Philippines.

¹Porto Rico, with the three small islands near it,—Culebra and Vieques on the east and Mona on the west,—contains about 3000 square miles, or half as many as New Jersey. According to the census taken by the United States late in 1899, the population was 958,679, about half being whites.

Guam is 5200 miles from San Francisco and 900 from Manila. It is about 32 miles long, and has a population of about 9000. The inhabitants have come from the Philippines. Spanish is the prevailing language. The island is thickly wooded and well watered. It has an excellent harbor.

The Philippines number over 1500 islands, but many of them are small. The land area is estimated at about 116,000 square miles, and the population at about 8,000,000. The inhabitants are mostly Malays, but about thirty races are represented. Luzon, the largest island, has an area of about 44,000 square miles,—about the same as Pennsylvania,—and its population is about 5,000,000. Manila is the largest city, with a population of about 250,000; it has one of the finest harbors in the Pacific.

On the other hand, it was contended that as the islands had come to the nation through the war, they should be retained and the United States should not shirk the difficulties and responsibilities of the situation. It was urged that it was far better for the Filipinos that they should belong to the United States than that they should be left to themselves or returned to Spain; it was, moreover, by no means sure that the islands would have to become a part of the nation in the same sense as one of the territories; that was a matter which could be left for the future to decide.

Aguinaldo.

A day or two before the final vote on the treaty, a body of Filipinos, under Emilio Aguinaldo, a native of ability, attacked the American defences at Manila, and ever since there has been resistance to the American rule. These tribes for the most part belong to the Tagals, a Malay race. They are in minority as regards the whole population, but are among the most able and intelligent.

464. Cost of the War; Losses; Red Cross Society. —

Cost of the war.



RED CROSS ARMBLET
AND FLAG.

With the ratification of the Treaty of Paris, the war with Spain officially ceased. It is impossible to calculate the exact cost of the war to the country; but the direct cost of the army and navy was about \$115,000,000, while the increased expenditures in other departments of the government was very great.

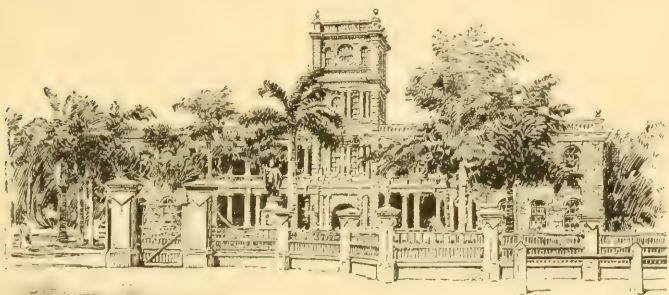
No war in the history of the country has been carried on with so little loss of life. No American flag or gun or vessel was captured, and no prisoners were taken by the enemy, except Ensign Hobson and his companions.¹

¹ The number of men in the army was about 275,000. The total loss of life in battle was under 400; that from disease about 2900. The manage-

As in the Civil War the Sanitary and Christian commissions added greatly to the comfort and health of the soldiers, so in the Spanish War did the Red Cross Society. The wounded, the sick, and the suffering were carefully and skilfully attended to and their wants supplied.¹

Red Cross
Society.

465. Annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. (1898.)—After the failure of the plan to annex the Hawaiian Islands



SENATE AND LEGISLATIVE BUILDINGS, HONOLULU, HAWAII.

From a photograph.

in 1893 (sect. 429), a republic was proclaimed July 4, 1894, under the presidency of Sanford B. Dole. He was a native of the islands, but of American parentage, and had been the head of the provisional government set up after the expulsion of Queen Liliuokalani. When the Republicans in the United States again came into power, a new treaty of

Hawaiian
republic,
July 4,
1894.

ment of the commissary department of the army was severely criticised for supplying food unfit for use, and the unsanitary conditions of many of the camps greatly increased the losses from disease.

¹The Red Cross Society was founded in 1864 at Geneva, Switzerland, by delegates from the principal nations; the agreements then drawn up have been signed by nearly all civilized powers. The object of the society is to relieve suffering by war, pestilence, famine, flood, fire, or any calamity which is national in extent. Miss Clara Barton is president of the American society.

annexation was negotiated in 1897. This was approved by the President, and sent to the Senate, but was not acted upon by that body.

Dewey's victory at Manila showed very clearly the advantage to the United States of owning the Hawaiian Islands for naval purposes, if for nothing else. Accordingly, July 6, 1898, Congress by a joint resolution annexed the islands.¹ The annexation was formally proclaimed at Honolulu, and the United States flag raised, August 12, 1898. By direction of President McKinley the officers of the late republic were to fulfil the duties of their positions until Congress should provide a new form of government. These officers took the oath of allegiance to the United States, and were subject to removal by the President.² A territorial government was provided for by act of Congress, April 30, 1900, which went into effect on June 14 of the same year.

Hawaii
annexed,
July 6, 1898.

466. Guam; Wake Island. (1899.) Samoan Islands. (1889.) Partition Treaty; United States acquire Tutuila. (1899.)--In accordance with the treaty of peace the United States took formal possession of Guam, February

¹ The resolution set forth that, the Republic of Hawaii having already signified its consent to cede all rights of sovereignty over the Hawaiian Islands to the United States, Congress accepts, ratifies, and confirms such cession.

² The Hawaiian group consists of twelve islands, most of them small. The total area is about 6750 square miles. Hawaii, the largest, has an area of 4210 square miles — almost two-thirds of the whole. The population of the islands in 1897 was 109,020. It is mixed, hardly one-third being Hawaiians; Chinese and Japanese together form nearly one-half; while the Americans number but 3000. The American influence, however, has long been very great, and the commerce of the islands is almost wholly with the United States. In 1897, 90.62 per cent of the exports went to the United States, while 76.94 per cent of the imports came from the United States. The exports consist of little besides sugar. The population in 1900 was 154,001.

1, 1899. On the way thither Commander Taussig, of the United States gunboat *Bennington*, hoisted the flag over Wake Island, a small island about two thousand miles distant from Hawaii and in the direct route from Hawaii to Hongkong. Guam.

Under the administration of President Cleveland, the United States (1889) joined with Great Britain and Germany in guaranteeing the neutrality of the Samoan Islands in the South Pacific, and in forming a joint protectorate over them.¹ There was much trouble in the islands from trade rivalry among the foreigners and various claims for kingship among the native chiefs. These troubles resulted (January, 1899) in a petty war, in which the British and Americans took the side of one of the chiefs. In June the three powers appointed a commission to visit Samoa and adjust the differences. Samoan Islands.

The commissioners, after investigation, proposed to establish a government to be maintained by the three powers, Great Britain, Germany, and the United States. Before this arrangement could be ratified, Great Britain, in consideration of the withdrawal by Germany of certain claims to other islands, gave up all claim to the Samoan group. These two powers also agreed that the United States should be given Tutuila, the largest of the islands, and that Germany should have the others.² This partition Partition of the Samoan Islands.

¹ The Samoan group, formerly known as the Navigators' Islands, consists of fourteen islands lying in a line drawn from San Francisco to Auckland, New Zealand. They are about 4000 miles from Hawaii, 4200 miles from Manila, and 1900 miles from Auckland. They contain an area of about 1740 square miles, and have a total population of less than 35,000. Recently Samoa has become well known as the residence of the late Robert Louis Stevenson, the author.

² Tutuila has an area of about fifty-four square miles, and possesses the harbor of Pago Pago, the finest in the South Pacific. A coaling station here

Tutuila.

treaty was signed by the President, December 2, 1899, and confirmed by the Senate; thus another island in the Pacific was added to the possessions of the United States.

Prosperity
in the
United
States.

467. Prosperity in the United States. (1898-1899.) Results of Spanish War. (1900.)—Notwithstanding the Spanish War, and the heavy taxation which it caused, the year 1898 was one of the most prosperous which the country has ever known. The exports were the largest on record, and though the imports were large, they yet fell far short of the exports. Crops were abundant, the mills were busy, and almost the whole country was reaping the fruits of prosperity. The years 1899 and 1900 were even more prosperous than 1898.

Perhaps there has been no year in the history of the United States more full of meaning than 1898. The intervention on behalf of Cuba brought with it results which few could foresee, and which many contemplated with fear. Within one short year the United States, almost in spite of herself, had assumed the position of a power which must take part in the affairs of the whole world. Once confined to the North American continent, she now has vast dependent territory. Her flag floats over the most important islands in the West Indies, and she holds some of the fairest and richest islands in the Pacific. Millions of people, representing many and diverse races, have come under her care to be governed, to be uplifted, and to be treated with kindness and justice.

468. Gold Standard Act; Galveston Disaster. (1900.)—In March, 1900, the Gold Standard Act was passed by

was granted to the United States in 1872. Since the acquisition of Tutuila, the Manua group of these islands, about seventy miles north of Tutuila, has come under the government of the United States.

Congress. By this act the gold dollar is made the standard of value.

The city of Galveston, Texas, is situated on a low sandy island only a few feet above sea-level, so the city is exposed to the open Gulf of Mexico. A tropical hurricane struck the coast of Texas, September 8, 9, 1900. The effect of the tornado was to raise the waves many feet above the level of high tide, and the whole city of Galveston was submerged in addition to the destruction wrought by the tornado. It is thought that about seven thousand lives were lost and \$30,000,000 of property destroyed. This was a disaster unparalleled in the history of the United States. As in the case of other disasters, abundant help was sent promptly to the suffering, and Red Cross Society agents were soon on the ground distributing relief and giving aid to the injured.

Galveston
disaster,
September
8, 9, 1900.

469. Presidential Campaign. (1900.)—The time drew near for nominating Presidential candidates. It had been for some time certain that President McKinley would be renominated and there was little talk of any one else. Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, was the popular candidate for Vice-President. Both were nominated at the Republican convention by acclamation. The Democratic convention nominated William J. Bryan, of Nebraska, for President by acclamation, and Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, for Vice-President by ballot (sect. 424).

Presidential
nominations,
1900.

Republican.
Democratic.

The larger wing of the People's party or Populists had already nominated William J. Bryan for President and Charles A. Towne for Vice-President.¹

"Populists."

The Prohibition party nominated John G. Wooley for President and Henry B. Metcalf for Vice-President.

Prohibitionist.

¹ Towne withdrew after the Democratic nominations.

Platforms.

The Republican platform indorsed all the acts of the administration, defended the Philippine policy, opposed the free coinage of silver, and upheld the gold standard.

The Democratic platform made "imperialism" the "paramount issue of the campaign," declaring that "imperialism abroad will lead quickly and inevitably to despotism at home." It denounced the Porto Rico legislation and the Philippine policy and legislation and acts of the Republicans generally. The Chicago platform of 1896 regarding the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of sixteen to one was reaffirmed.

The platform of the People's party was in important points similar to that of the Democrats.

The Prohibition platform declared that Prohibition was the greatest issue. It harshly denounced President McKinley.

Campaign,
1900.

The struggle lay wholly between the Republican and Democratic candidates. The effort to make "imperialism" the chief issue failed. As in 1896, the real issue was between the gold standard and the free coinage of silver. At the election, President McKinley was chosen by a larger plurality of the popular vote than any President had ever received.¹

Philippine
Commission,
1900.

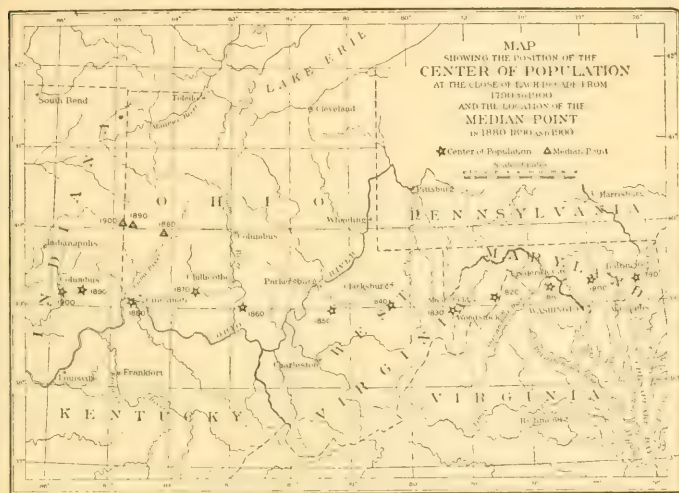
470. Philippine Commission ; Census. (1900.)—In the spring of 1900, a commission was sent to the Philippines to investigate the condition of affairs in the islands, and to set up as soon as possible civil government. By the end of the year there were good prospects that order would before a long period be restored. The war had become restricted to marauding bands and guerillas.²

¹ The total vote was 13,069,770 : McKinley's plurality over Bryan was 849,455, and his majority over all 446,718.

² Aguinaldo was captured March 23, 1901, and after a short time took the

The census of 1900 gave the population of the United States as 76,304,799, an increase of about twenty-one per cent over that of 1890.¹ The centre of population moved westward fourteen miles, and southward two and one-half miles. Census, 1900.

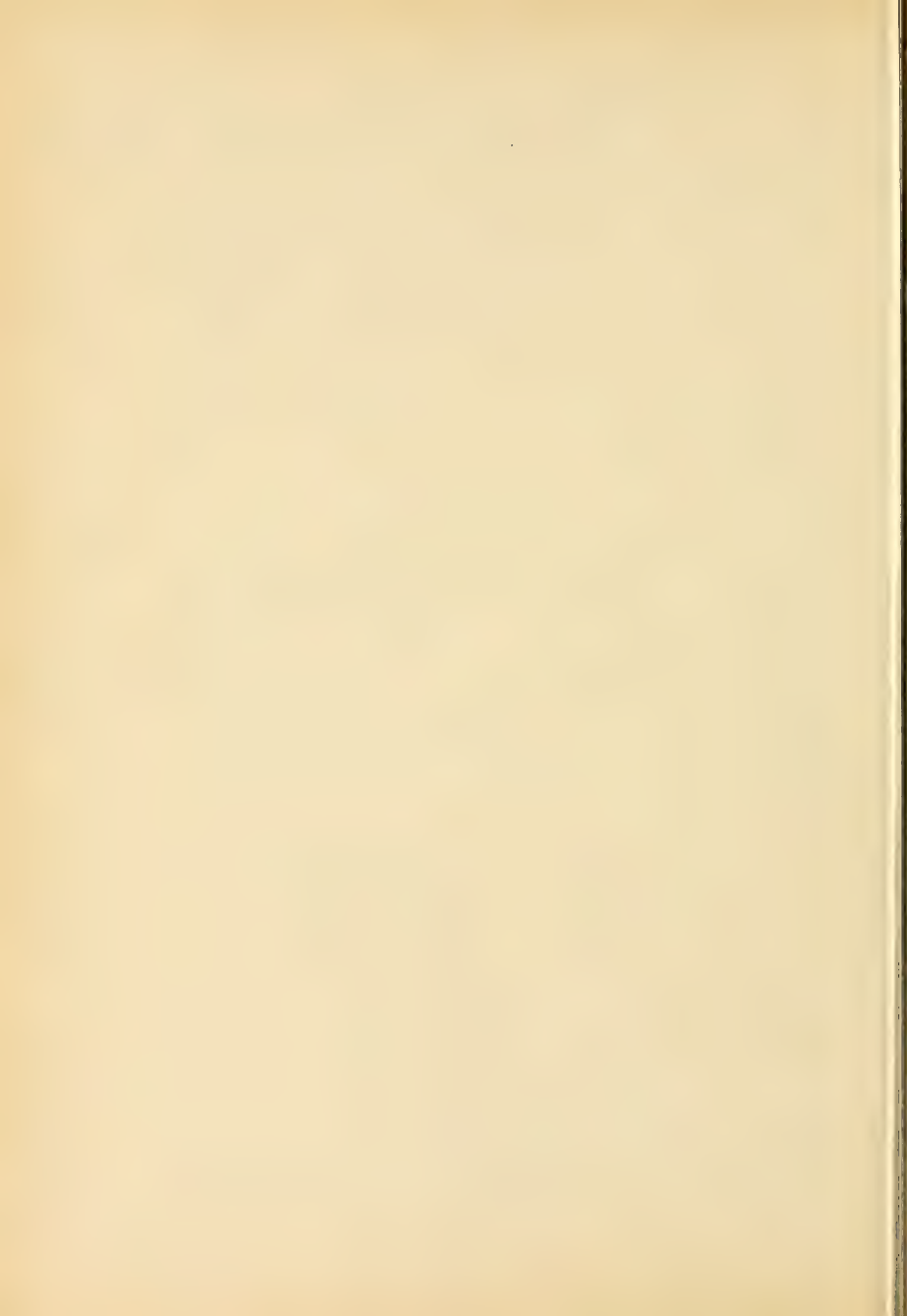
At the opening of the twentieth century, the United States takes her place as the richest and one of the most



powerful nations in the world. No other nation has had such opportunities, and no nation in history has attained such greatness in so short a period. The problems before the country are great and difficult; upon their right solution depend the successful future of the great Republic, and the material and moral welfare of all her millions of people.

oath of allegiance to the United States, and issued a manifesto advising the Filipinos still resisting American control to lay down their arms and recognize the authority of the United States.

¹ In accordance with the Constitution, Congress passed an apportionment bill, fixing the membership of the House of Representatives at 386, or one for every 193,291 persons. See Appendix VI.



APPENDIX I.

THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.¹

IN CONGRESS, JULY 4, 1776.

THE UNANIMOUS DECLARATION OF THE THIRTEEN UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

WHEN in the Course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the Powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the Laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, indeed, will dictate that Governments long established should not be changed for light and transient causes; and accordingly all experience hath shown, that mankind are more disposed to suffer, while evils are sufferable, than to right themselves by abolishing the forms to which they are accustomed. But when a long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object

¹ The original copy of the Declaration of Independence, which was signed at Philadelphia, is kept at the Department of State, Washington, District of Columbia. The writing is much faded, and some of the signatures have nearly disappeared.

The arrangement of paragraphs here adopted follows the copy in the Journals of Congress, printed by John Dunlap, which agrees with Jefferson's original draft. No names of states appear in the original, though the names from each state are together, except that the signature of Matthew Thornton, New Hampshire, follows that of Oliver Wolcott, Massachusetts.

evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Despotism, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies ; and such is now the necessity which constrains them to alter their former Systems of Government. The history of the present King of Great Britain is a history of repeated injuries and usurpations, all having in direct object the establishment of an absolute Tyranny over these States. To prove this, let Facts be submitted to a candid world.

He has refused his Assent to Laws, the most wholesome and necessary for the public good.

He has forbidden his Governors to pass Laws of immediate and pressing importance, unless suspended in their operation till his Assent should be obtained ; and when so suspended, he has utterly neglected to attend to them.

He has refused to pass other Laws for the accommodation of large districts of people, unless those people would relinquish the right of Representation in the Legislature, a right inestimable to them and formidable to tyrants only.

He has called together legislative bodies at places unusual, uncomfortable, and distant from the depository of their Public Records, for the sole purpose of fatiguing them into compliance with his measures.

He has dissolved Representative Houses repeatedly, for opposing with manly firmness his invasions on the rights of the people.

He has refused for a long time, after such dissolutions, to cause others to be elected ; whereby the Legislative Powers, incapable of Annihilation, have returned to the People at large for their exercise ; the State remaining in the mean time exposed to all the dangers of invasion from without, and convulsions within.

He has endeavoured to prevent the population of these States ; for that purpose obstructing the Laws for Naturalization of Foreigners ; refusing to pass others to encourage their migration hither, and raising the conditions of new Appropriations of Lands.

He has obstructed the Administration of Justice, by refusing his Assent to Laws for establishing Judiciary Powers.

He has made Judges dependent on his Will alone, for the tenure of their offices, and the amount and payment of their salaries.

He has erected a multitude of New Offices, and sent hither swarms of Officers to harrass our People, and eat out their substance.

He has kept among us, in times of peace, Standing Armies without the Consent of our legislature.

He has affected to render the Military independent of and superior to the Civil Power.

He has combined with others to subject us to a jurisdiction foreign to our constitution, and unacknowledged by our laws; giving his Assent to their Acts of pretended Legislation:

For quartering large bodies of armed troops among us:

For protecting them, by a mock Trial, from Punishment for any Murders which they should commit on the Inhabitants of these States:

For cutting off our Trade with all parts of the world:

For imposing taxes on us without our Consent:

For depriving us in many cases, of the benefits of Trial by Jury:

For transporting us beyond Seas to be tried for pretended offences:

For abolishing the free System of English Laws in a neighbouring Province, establishing therein an Arbitrary government, and enlarging its Boundaries so as to render it at once an example and fit instrument for introducing the same absolute rule into these Colonies:

For taking away our Charters, abolishing our most valuable Laws, and altering fundamentally the Forms of our Governments:

For suspending our own Legislatures, and declaring themselves invested with Power to legislate for us in all cases whatsoever.

He has abdicated Government here, by declaring us out of his Protection and waging War against us.

He has plundered our seas, ravaged our Coasts, burnt our towns, and destroyed the lives of our people.

He is at this time transporting large armies of foreign mercenaries to compleat the works of death, desolation and tyranny, already begun with circumstances of Cruelty & perfidy scarcely paralleled in the most barbarous ages, and totally unworthy the Head of a civilized nation.

He has constrained our fellow Citizens taken Captive on the high Seas to bear Arms against their Country, to become the executioners of their friends and Brethren, or to fall themselves by their Hands.

He has excited domestic insurrections amongst us, and has endeavoured to bring on the inhabitants of our frontiers, the merciless Indian Savages, whose known rule of warfare, is an undistinguished destruction of all ages, sexes and conditions.

In every stage of these Oppressions We have Petitioned for Redress in the most humble terms: Our repeated Petitions have been answered only by repeated injury. A Prince, whose character is thus marked by every act which may define a Tyrant, is unfit to be the ruler of a free People.

Nor have We been wanting in attention to our British brethren. We have warned them from time to time of attempts by their legislature to extend an unwarrantable jurisdiction over us. We have reminded them of the circumstances of our emigration and settlement here. We have appealed to their native justice and magnanimity, and we have conjured them by the ties of

our common kindred to disavow these usurpations, which, would inevitably interrupt our connections and correspondence. They too have been deaf to the voice of justice and of consanguinity. We must, therefore, acquiesce in the necessity, which denounces our Separation, and hold them, as we hold the rest of mankind, Enemies in War, in Peace Friends.

We, therefore, the Representatives of the united States of America, in General Congress, Assembled, appealing to the Supreme Judge of the world for the rectitude of our intentions, do, in the Name, and by Authority of the good People of these Colonies, solemnly publish and declare, That these United Colonies are, and of Right ought to be Free and Independent States; that they are Absolved from all Allegiance to the British Crown, and that all political connection between them and the State of Great Britain, is and ought to be totally dissolved; and that as Free and Independent States, they have full Power to levy War, conclude Peace, contract Alliances, establish Commerce, and to do all other Acts and Things which Independent States may of right do. And for the support of this Declaration, with a firm reliance on the Protection of Divine Providence, we mutually pledge to each other our Lives, our Fortunes and our sacred Honor.

JOHN HANCOCK.

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOSIAH BARTLETT,
WM. WHIPPLE,
MATTHEW THORNTON.

MASSACHUSETTS BAY.

SAML. ADAMS,
JOHN ADAMS,
ROBT. TRENT PAINE,
ELBRIDGE GERRY.

RHODE ISLAND.

STEP. HOPKINS,
WILLIAM ELLERY.

CONNECTICUT.

ROGER SHERMAN,
SAM'L HUNTINGTON,
WM. WILLIAMS,
OLIVER WOLCOTT.

NEW YORK.

WM. FLOYD,
PHIL. LIVINGSTON,
FRANS. LEWIS,
LEWIS MORRIS.

NEW JERSEY.

RICHD. STOCKTON,
JNO. WITHERSPOON,
FRAS. HOPKINSON,
JOHN HART,
ABRA. CLARK.

PENNSYLVANIA.

ROBT. MORRIS,
BENJAMIN RUSH,
BENJA. FRANKLIN,
JOHN MORTON,
GEO CLYMER,
JAS. SMITH,
GEO. TAYLOR,
JAMES WILSON,
GEO. ROSS.

DELAWARE.

CÆSAR RODNEY,
GEO. READ,
THO. M'KEAN.

MARYLAND.

SAMUEL CHASE,
WM. PACA,

THOS. STONE,
CHARLES CARROLL of Carroll-
ton.

VIRGINIA.

GEORGE WYTHE,
RICHARD HENRY LEE,
TH. JEFFERSON,
BENJA. HARRISON,
THOS. NELSON, jr.,
FRANCIS LIGHTFOOT LEE,
CARTER BRANTON.

NORTH CAROLINA.

WM. HOOPER,
JOSEPH HEWES,
JOHN PENN.

SOUTH CAROLINA

EDWARD RUTLEDGE,
THOS. HEYWARD, Junr.,
THOMAS LYNCH, Junr.,
ARTHUR MIDDLETON.

GEORGIA.

BUTTON GWINNETT,
LYMAN HALL,
GEO. WALTON.

APPENDIX II.

[THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.]¹

WE THE PEOPLE of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defence, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this CONSTITUTION for the United States of America.

ARTICLE. I.

SECTION. 1. All legislative Powers herein granted shall be vested in a Congress of the United States, which shall consist of a Senate and House of Representatives.

SECTION. 2. [1] The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature.

[2] No Person shall be a Representative who shall not have attained to the Age of twenty five Years, and been seven Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State in which he shall be chosen.

[3] Representatives and direct Taxes shall be apportioned among the several States which may be included within this Union, according to their respective Numbers,² [which shall be determined by adding to the whole Number of free Persons, including those bound to Service for a Term of

¹ This text of the Constitution has been printed from the copy issued by the United States Department of State which bears the indorsement, "Compared with the original in the Department of State, April 13, 1891, and found to be correct." Those parts of the document in brackets [] are not in the original, or have been modified or superseded by amendments, or were temporary in their character.

² The apportionment under the census of 1900 is one representative to every 193,291.

Years, and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other Persons].¹ The actual Enumeration shall be made within three Years after the first Meeting of the Congress of the United States, and within every subsequent Term of ten Years, in such Manner as they shall by Law direct. The Number of Representatives shall not exceed one for every thirty Thousand, but each State shall have at Least one Representative; [and until such enumeration shall be made, the State of New Hampshire shall be entitled to chuse three, Massachusetts eight, Rhode-Island and Providence Plantations one, Connecticut five, New-York six, New Jersey four, Pennsylvania eight, Delaware one, Maryland six, Virginia ten, North Carolina five, South Carolina five, and Georgia three.]

[4] When vacancies happen in the Representation from any State, the Executive Authority thereof shall issue Writs of Election to fill such Vacancies.

[5] The House of Representatives shall chuse their Speaker² and other Officers; and shall have the sole Power of Impeachment.

SECTION. 3. [1] The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, chosen by the Legislature thereof, for six Years; and each Senator shall have one Vote.

[2] Immediately after they shall be assembled in Consequence of the first Election, they shall be divided as equally as may be into three Classes. The Seats of the Senators of the first Class shall be vacated at the Expiration of the second Year, of the second Class at the Expiration of the fourth Year, and of the third Class at the Expiration of the sixth Year, so that one third may be chosen every second Year; and if Vacancies happen by Resignation, or otherwise, during the Recess of the Legislature of any State, the Executive thereof may make temporary Appointments until the next Meeting of the Legislature, which shall then fill such Vacancies.

[3] No Person shall be a Senator who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty Years, and been nine Years a Citizen of the United States, and who shall not, when elected, be an Inhabitant of that State for which he shall be chosen.

[4] The Vice President of the United States shall be President of the Senate, but shall have no Vote, unless they be equally divided.

[5] The Senate shall chuse their other Officers, and also a President pro tempore, in the Absence of the Vice President, or when he shall exercise the Office of President of the United States.

[6] The Senate shall have the sole Power to try all Impeachments. When sitting for that Purpose, they shall be on Oath or Affirmation. When the President of the United States is tried, the Chief Justice shall preside: And

¹ The clause in brackets has been superseded by the thirteenth and fourteenth amendments.

² The Speaker is always one of the representatives; the other officers are not.

no Person shall be convicted without the Concurrence of two thirds of the Members present.

[7] Judgment in Cases of Impeachment shall not extend further than to removal from Office, and disqualification to hold and enjoy any Office of honor, Trust or Profit under the United States: but the Party convicted shall nevertheless be liable and subject to Indictment, Trial, Judgment and Punishment, according to Law.

SECTION. 4. [1] The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators.

[2] The Congress shall assemble at least once in every Year, and such Meeting shall be on the first Monday in December, unless they shall by Law appoint a different Day.

SECTION. 5. [1] Each House shall be the Judge of the Elections, Returns and Qualifications of its own Members, and a Majority of each shall constitute a Quorum to do Business; but a smaller Number may adjourn from day to day, and may be authorized to compel the Attendance of absent Members, in such Manner, and under such Penalties as each House may provide.

[2] Each House may determine the Rules of its Proceedings, punish its Members for disorderly Behaviour, and, with the Concurrence of two thirds, expel a Member.

[3] Each House shall keep a Journal of its Proceedings, and from time to time publish the same, excepting such Parts as may in their Judgment require Secrecy; and the Yeas and Nays of the Members of either House on any question shall, at the Desire of one fifth of those Present, be entered on the Journal.

[4] Neither House, during the Session of Congress, shall, without the Consent of the other, adjourn for more than three days, nor to any other Place than that in which the two Houses shall be sitting.

SECTION. 6. [1] The Senators and Representatives shall receive a Compensation¹ for their Services, to be ascertained by Law, and paid out of the Treasury of the United States. They shall in all Cases, except Treason, Felony and Breach of the Peace, be privileged from Arrest during their Attendance at the Session of their respective Houses, and in going to and returning from the same; and for any Speech or Debate in either House, they shall not be questioned in any other Place.

[2] No Senator or Representative shall, during the Time for which he was elected, be appointed to any civil Office under the Authority of the United

¹ At present (1893) this is "\$5000 per annum, with \$125 annual allowance for stationery and newspapers, and a mileage allowance of twenty cents per mile of travel each way from their homes at each annual session."

States, which shall have been created, or the Emoluments whereof shall have been increased during such time ; and no Person holding any Office under the United States, shall be a Member of either House during his Continuance in Office.

SECTION. 7. [1] All Bills for raising Revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives ; but the Senate may propose or concur with Amendments as on other Bills.

[2] Every Bill which shall have passed the House of Representatives and the Senate, shall, before it become a Law, be presented to the President of the United States ; if he approve he shall sign it, but if not he shall return it, with his Objections to that House in which it shall have originated, who shall enter the Objections at large on their Journal, and proceed to reconsider it. If after such Reconsideration two thirds of that House shall agree to pass the Bill, it shall be sent, together with the Objections, to the other House, by which it shall likewise be reconsidered, and if approved by two thirds of that House, it shall become a Law. But in all such Cases the Votes of both Houses shall be determined by yeas and Nays, and the Names of the Persons voting for and against the Bill shall be entered on the Journal of each House respectively. If any Bill shall not be returned by the President within ten Days (Sundays excepted) after it shall have been presented to him, the Same shall be a Law, in like Manner as if he had signed it, unless the Congress by their Adjournment prevent its Return, in which Case it shall not be a Law.

[3] Every Order, Resolution, or Vote to which the Concurrence of the Senate and House of Representatives may be necessary (except on a question of Adjournment) shall be presented to the President of the United States ; and before the same shall take Effect, shall be approved by him, or being disapproved by him, shall be repassed by two thirds of the Senate and House of Representatives, according to the Rules and Limitations prescribed in the Case of a Bill.

SECTION. 8. [1] The Congress shall have Power To lay and collect Taxes, Duties, Imposts and Excises, to pay the Debts and provide for the common Defence and general Welfare of the United States ; but all Duties, Imposts and Excises shall be uniform throughout the United States ;

[2] To borrow Money on the credit of the United States ;

[3] To regulate Commerce with foreign Nations, and among the several States, and with the Indian Tribes ;

[4] To establish a uniform Rule of Naturalization, and uniform Laws on the subject of Bankruptcies throughout the United States ;

[5] To coin Money, regulate the Value thereof, and of foreign Coin, and fix the Standard of Weights and Measures ;

[6] To provide for the Punishment of counterfeiting the Securities and current Coin of the United States ;

[7] To establish Post Offices and post Roads ;

[8] To promote the Progress of Science and useful Arts, by securing for limited Times to Authors and Inventors the exclusive Right to their respective Writings and Discoveries ;

[9] To constitute Tribunals inferior to the supreme Court ;

[10] To define and punish Piracies and Felonies committed on the high Seas, and Offences against the Law of Nations ;

[11] To declare War, grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal, and make Rules concerning Captures on Land and Water ;

[12] To raise and support Armies, but no Appropriation of Money to that Use shall be for a longer Term than two Years ;

[13] To provide and maintain a Navy ;

[14] To make Rules for the Government and Regulation of the land and naval Forces ;

[15] To provide for calling forth the Militia to execute the Laws of the Union, suppress Insurrections and repel Invasions ;

[16] To provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining, the Militia, and for governing such Part of them as may be employed in the Service of the United States, reserving to the States respectively, the Appointment of the Officers, and the Authority of training the Militia according to the discipline prescribed by Congress ;

[17] To exercise exclusive Legislation in all Cases whatsoever, over such District (not exceeding ten Miles square) as may, by Cession of particular States, and the Acceptance of Congress, become the Seat of the Government of the United States, and to exercise like Authority over all Places purchased by the Consent of the Legislature of the State in which the Same shall be, for the Erection of Forts, Magazines, Arsenals, dock-Yards, and other needful Buildings ; — And

[18] To make all Laws which shall be necessary and proper for carrying into Execution the foregoing Powers, and all other Powers vested by this Constitution in the Government of the United States, or in any Department or Officer thereof.

SECTION. 9. [1] [The Migration or Importation of such Persons as any of the States now existing shall think proper to admit, shall not be prohibited by the Congress prior to the Year one thousand eight hundred and eight, but a Tax or duty may be imposed on such Importation, not exceeding ten dollars for each Person.]¹

[2] The Privilege of the Writ of Habeas Corpus shall not be suspended, unless when in Cases of Rebellion or Invasion the public Safety may require it.

[3] No Bill of Attainder or ex post facto Law shall be passed.

¹ A temporary clause no longer in force.

[4] No Capitation, or other direct, Tax shall be laid, unless in Proportion to the Census or Enumeration herein before directed to be taken.

[5] No Tax or Duty shall be laid on Articles exported from any State.

[6] No Preference shall be given by any Regulation of Commerce or Revenue to the Ports of one State over those of another: nor shall Vessels bound to, or from, one State, be obliged to enter, clear, or pay Duties in another.

[7] No Money shall be drawn from the Treasury, but in Consequence of Appropriations made by Law; and a regular Statement and Account of the Receipts and Expenditures of all public Money shall be published from time to time.

[8] No Title of Nobility shall be granted by the United States: And no Person holding any Office of Profit or Trust under them, shall, without the Consent of the Congress, accept of any present, Emolument, Office, or Title, of any kind whatever, from any King, Prince, or foreign State.¹

SECTION. 10. [1] No State shall enter into any Treaty, Alliance, or Confederation; grant Letters of Marque and Reprisal; coin Money; emit Bills of Credit; make any Thing but gold and silver Coin a Tender in Payment of Debts; pass any Bill of Attainder, ex post facto Law, or Law impairing the Obligation of Contracts, or grant any Title of Nobility.

[2] No State shall, without the Consent of the Congress, lay any Imposts or Duties on Imports or Exports, except what may be absolutely necessary for executing it's inspection Laws: and the net Produce of all Duties and Imposts, laid by any State on Imports or Exports, shall be for the Use of the Treasury of the United States; and all such Laws shall be subject to the Revision and Controul of the Congress.

[3] No State shall, without the Consent of Congress, lay any Duty of Tonnage, keep Troops, or Ships of War in time of Peace, enter into any Agreement or Compact with another State, or with a foreign Power, or engage in War, unless actually invaded, or in such imminent Danger as will not admit of delay.²

ARTICLE. II.

SECTION. 1. [1] The executive Power shall be vested in a President of the United States of America. He shall hold his Office during the Term of four Years, and, together with the Vice President, chosen for the same Term, be elected, as follows

[2] Each State shall appoint, in such Manner as the Legislature thereof may direct, a Number of Electors, equal to the whole Number of Senators

¹ The personal rights enumerated in Section 9, have been added to, and extended by, Amendments I.-X.

² The provisions of Section 10 have been modified and extended by Amendments XIII.-XV.

and Representatives to which the State may be entitled in the Congress: but no Senator or Representative, or Person holding an Office of Trust or Profit under the United States, shall be appointed an Elector.

[3] [The Electors shall meet in their respective States, and vote by Ballot for two Persons, of whom one at least shall not be an Inhabitant of the same State with themselves. And they shall make a List of all the Persons voted for, and of the Number of Votes for each; which List they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the Seat of the Government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate. The President of the Senate shall, in the Presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the Certificates, and the Votes shall then be counted. The Person having the greatest Number of Votes shall be the President, if such Number be a Majority of the whole Number of Electors appointed; and if there be more than one who have such Majority, and have an equal Number of Votes, then the House of Representatives shall immediately chuse by Ballot one of them for President; and if no Person have a Majority, then from the five highest on the List the said House shall in like Manner chuse the President. But in chusing the President, the Votes shall be taken by States, the Representation from each State having one Vote; A quorum for this Purpose shall consist of a Member or Members from two thirds of the States, and a Majority of all the States shall be necessary to a Choice. In every Case, after the Choice of the President, the Person having the greatest Number of Votes of the Electors shall be the Vice President. But if there should remain two or more who have equal Votes, the Senate shall chuse from them by Ballot the Vice President.]¹

[4] The Congress may determine the Time of chusing the Electors, and the Day on which they shall give their Votes; which Day shall be the same throughout the United States.

[5] No Person except a natural born Citizen, or a Citizen of the United States, at the time of the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be eligible to the Office of President; neither shall any Person be eligible to that Office who shall not have attained to the Age of thirty five Years, and been fourteen Years a Resident within the United States.

[6] In Case of the Removal of the President from Office, or of his Death, Resignation, or Inability to discharge the Powers and Duties of the said Office, the Same shall devolve on the Vice President, and the Congress may by Law provide for the Case of Removal, Death, Resignation or Inability, both of the President and Vice President, declaring what Officer shall then act as President, and such Officer shall act accordingly, until the Disability be removed, or a President shall be elected.

¹ This clause has been superseded by Amendment XII.

[7] The President shall, at stated Times, receive for his Services, a Compensation, which shall neither be encreased nor diminished during the Period for which he shall have been elected, and he shall not receive within that Period any other Emolument from the United States, or any of them.

[8] Before he enter on the Execution of his Office, he shall take the following Oath or Affirmation : — “ I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.”

SECTION. 2. [1] The President shall be Commander in Chief of the Army and Navy of the United States, and of the Militia of the several States, when called into the actual Service of the United States ; he may require the Opinion, in writing, of the principal Officer in each of the executive Departments, upon any Subject relating to the Duties of their respective Offices, and he shall have Power to grant Reprieves and Pardons for Offences against the United States, except in Cases of Impeachment.

[2] He shall have Power, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, to make Treaties, provided two thirds of the Senators present concur ; and he shall nominate, and by and with the Advice and Consent of the Senate, shall appoint Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, Judges of the supreme Court, and all other Officers of the United States, whose Appointments are not herein otherwise provided for, and which shall be established by Law : but the Congress may by Law vest the Appointment of such inferior Officers, as they think proper, in the President alone, in the Courts of Law, or in the Heads of Departments.

[3] The President shall have Power to fill up all Vacancies that may happen during the Recess of the Senate, by granting Commissions which shall expire at the End of their next Session.

SECTION. 3. [1] He shall from time to time give to the Congress Information of the State of the Union, and recommend to their Consideration such Measures as he shall judge necessary and expedient ; he may, on extraordinary Occasions, convene both Houses, or either of them, and in Case of Disagreement between them, with Respect to the Time of Adjournment, he may adjourn them to such Time as he shall think proper ; he shall receive Ambassadors and other public Ministers ; he shall take Care that the Laws be faithfully executed, and shall Commission all the Officers of the United States.

SECTION. 4. [1] The President, Vice President and all civil Officers of the United States, shall be removed from Office on Impeachment for, and Conviction of, Treason, Bribery, or other high Crimes and Misdemeanors.

ARTICLE. III.

SECTION. 1. [1] The judicial Power of the United States, shall be vested in one supreme Court, and in such inferior Courts as the Congress may from time to time ordain and establish. The Judges, both of the supreme and inferior Courts, shall hold their Offices during good Behaviour, and shall, at stated Times, receive for their Services, a Compensation, which shall not be diminished during their continuance in Office.

SECTION. 2. [1] The judicial Power shall extend to all cases, in Law and Equity, arising under this Constitution, the Laws of the United States, and Treaties made, or which shall be made, under their Authority ; — to all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls ; — to all Cases of admiralty and maritime Jurisdiction ; — to Controversies to which the United States shall be a Party ; — to Controversies between two or more States ; — between a State and Citizens of another State ;¹ between Citizens of different States, — between Citizens of the same State claiming Lands under Grants of different States, and between a State, or the Citizens thereof, and foreign States, Citizens or Subjects.

[2] In all Cases affecting Ambassadors, other public Ministers and Consuls, and those in which a State shall be Party, the supreme Court shall have original Jurisdiction. In all the other Cases before mentioned, the supreme Court shall have appellate Jurisdiction, both as to Law and Fact, with such Exceptions, and under such regulations as the Congress shall make.

[3] The Trial of all Crimes, except in Cases of Impeachment, shall be by Jury ; and such Trial shall be held in the State where the said Crimes shall have been committed ; but when not committed within any State, the Trial shall be at such Place or Places as the Congress may by Law have directed.

SECTION. 3. [1] Treason against the United States, shall consist only in levying War against them, or in adhering to their Enemies, giving them Aid and Comfort. No Person shall be convicted of Treason unless on the Testimony of two Witnesses to the same overt Act, or on Confession in open Court.

[2] The Congress shall have Power to declare the Punishment of Treason, but no Attainder of Treason shall work Corruption of Blood, or Forfeiture except during the Life of the Person attainted.

ARTICLE. IV.

SECTION. 1. [1] Full Faith and Credit shall be given in each State to the public Acts, Records, and judicial Proceedings of every other State. And

¹ Modified by Amendment XI.

the Congress may by general Laws prescribe the Manner in which such Acts, Records and Proceedings shall be proved, and the Effect thereof.

SECTION. 2. [1] The Citizens of each State shall be entitled to all Privileges and Immunities of Citizens in the several States.¹

[2] A Person charged in any State with Treason, Felony, or other Crime, who shall flee from Justice, and be found in another State, shall on Demand of the executive Authority of the State from which he fled, be delivered up, to be removed to the State having Jurisdiction of the Crime.

[3] [No Person held to Service or Labour in one State, under the Laws thereof, escaping into another, shall, in Consequence of any Law or Regulation therein, be discharged from such Service or Labour, but shall be delivered up on Claim of the Party to whom such Service or Labour may be due.]²

SECTION. 3. [1] New States may be admitted by the Congress into this Union ; but no new State shall be formed or erected within the Jurisdiction of any other State ; nor any State be formed by the Junction of two or more States, or Parts of States, without the Consent of the Legislatures of the States concerned as well as of the Congress.

[2] The Congress shall have Power to dispose of and make all needful Rules and Regulations respecting the Territory or other Property belonging to the United States ; and nothing in this Constitution shall be so construed as to Prejudice any Claims of the United States, or of any particular State.

SECTION. 4. [1] The United States shall guarantee to every State in this Union a Republican Form of Government, and shall protect each of them against Invasion ; and on Application of the Legislature, or of the Executive (when the Legislature cannot be convened) against domestic Violence.

ARTICLE. V.

[1] The Congress, whenever two thirds of both Houses shall deem it necessary, shall propose Amendments to this Constitution, or, on the Application of the Legislatures of two thirds of the several States, shall call a Convention for proposing Amendments, which, in either Case, shall be valid to all Intents and Purposes, as Part of this Constitution, when ratified by the Legislatures of three fourths of the several States, or by Conventions in three fourths thereof, as the one or the other Mode of Ratification may be proposed by the Congress ; Provided that [no Amendment which may be made prior to the Year One thousand eight hundred and eight shall in any Manner affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article ; and that]³ no State, without its Consent, shall be deprived of it's equal Suffrage in the Senate.

¹ Provisions extended by Amendment XIV.

² Superseded by Amendment XIII.

³ Temporary in its nature.

ARTICLE. VI.

[1] All Debts contracted and Engagements entered into, before the Adoption of this Constitution, shall be as valid against the United States under this Constitution, as under the Confederation.

[2] This Constitution, and the Laws of the United States which shall be made in Pursuance thereof; and all Treaties made, or which shall be made, under the Authority of the United States, shall be the supreme Law of the Land; and the Judges in every State shall be bound thereby, any Thing in the Constitution or Laws of any State to the Contrary notwithstanding.

[3] The Senators and Representatives before mentioned, and the Members of the several State Legislatures, and all executive and judicial Officers, both of the United States and of the several States, shall be bound by Oath or Affirmation, to support this Constitution; but no religious Test shall ever be required as a Qualification to any Office or public Trust under the United States.

ARTICLE. VII.

[1] The Ratification of the Conventions of nine States, shall be sufficient for the Establishment of this Constitution between the States so ratifying the Same.

The Word, "the", being interlined between the seventh and eighth Lines of the first Page, The Word "Thirty" being partly written on an Erasure in the fifteenth Line of the first Page, The Words "is tried" being interlined between the thirty second and thirty third Lines of the first Page and the Word "the" being interlined between the forty third and forty fourth Lines of the second Page.

[NOTE BY PRINTER. — The interlined and rewritten words, mentioned in the above explanation, are in this edition, printed in their proper places in the text.]

DONE in Convention by the Unanimous Consent
of the States present the Seventeenth Day of
September in the Year of our Lord one thousand
seven hundred and Eighty seven and of the
Independance of the United States of America
the Twelfth **In Witness** whereof We have
hereunto subscribed our Names,

GO: WASHINGTON — *Presidt.*
and deputy from Virginia

Attest WILLIAM JACKSON *Secretary*

NEW HAMPSHIRE.

JOHN LANGDON
NICHOLAS GILMAN

MASSACHUSETTS.

NATHANIEL GORHAM
RUFUS KING

CONNECTICUT.

WM: SAM'L JOHNSON
ROGER SHERMAN

NEW YORK.

ALEXANDER HAMILTON

NEW JERSEY.

WIL: LIVINGSTON
DAVID BREARLEY.
WM. PATERSON.
JONA: DAYTON

PENNSYLVANIA.

B FRANKLIN
THOMAS MIFFLIN
ROBT. MORRIS
GEO. CLYMER
THOS. FITZ SIMONS
JARED INGERSOLL
JAMES WILSON
GOUV MORRIS

DELAWARE.

GEO: READ
GUNNING BEDFORD jun
JOHN DICKINSON
RICHARD BASSETT
JACO: BROOM

MARYLAND.

JAMES MCHENRY
DAN OF ST THOS. JENIFER
DANL CARROLL

VIRGINIA.

JOHN BLAIR —
JAMES MADISON JR.

NORTH CAROLINA.

WM: BLOUNT
RICH'D. DOBBS SPAIGHT.
HU WILLIAMSON

SOUTH CAROLINA.

J. RUTLEDGE
CHARLES COTESWORTH PINCKNEY
CHARLES PINCKNEY
PIERCE BUTLER.

GEORGIA.

WILLIAM FEW
ABR BALDWIN

ARTICLES

in Addition to, and Amendment of the Constitution of the United States of America, proposed by Congress and ratified by the Legislatures of the Several States, pursuant to the Fifth Article of the Constitution.

[ARTICLE I.]

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof ; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press ; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.

[ARTICLE II.]

A well regulated Militia, being necessary to the security of a free State, the right of the people to keep and bear Arms, shall not be infringed.

[ARTICLE III.]

No Soldier shall, in time of peace be quartered in any house, without the consent of the Owner, nor in time of war, but in a manner to be prescribed by law.

[ARTICLE IV.]

The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.

[ARTICLE V.]

No person shall be held to answer for a capital, or otherwise infamous crime, unless on a presentment or indictment of a Grand Jury, except in cases arising in the land or naval forces, or in the Militia, when in actual service in time of War or public danger ; nor shall any person be subject for the same offence to be twice put in jeopardy of life or limb ; nor shall be compelled in any Criminal Case to be a witness against himself, nor be deprived of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law ; nor shall private property be taken for public use, without just compensation.

[ARTICLE VI.]

In all criminal prosecutions, the accused shall enjoy the right to a speedy and public trial, by an impartial jury of the State and district wherein the

crime shall have been committed, which district shall have been previously ascertained by law, and to be informed of the nature and cause of the accusation ; to be confronted with the witnesses against him ; to have compulsory process for obtaining Witnesses in his favor, and to have the Assistance of Counsel for his defence.

[ARTICLE VII.]

In suits at common law, where the value in controversy shall exceed twenty dollars, the right of trial by jury shall be preserved, and no fact tried by a jury shall be otherwise re-examined in any Court of the United States, than according to the rules of the common law.

[ARTICLE VIII.]

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

[ARTICLE IX.]

The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people.

[ARTICLE X.]¹

The powers not delegated to the United States by the Constitution, nor prohibited by it to the States, are reserved to the States respectively, or to the people.

[ARTICLE XI.]²

The Judicial power of the United States shall not be construed to extend to any suit in law or equity, commenced or prosecuted against one of the United States by Citizens of another State, or by Citizens or Subjects of any Foreign State.

[ARTICLE XII.]³

The Electors shall meet in their respective states, and vote by ballot for President and Vice President, one of whom, at least, shall not be an inhabitant of the same state with themselves ; they shall name in their ballots the person voted for as President, and in distinct ballots the person voted for as Vice President, and they shall make distinct lists of all persons voted for as President, and of all persons voted for as Vice President, and of the number

¹ Amendments I.-X. were proclaimed to be in force December 15, 1791.

² Proclaimed to be in force January 8, 1798.

³ Proclaimed to be in force September 25, 1804.

of votes for each, which lists they shall sign and certify, and transmit sealed to the seat of the government of the United States, directed to the President of the Senate ; — The President of the Senate shall, in presence of the Senate and House of Representatives, open all the certificates and the votes shall then be counted ; — The person having the greatest number of votes for President, shall be the President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed ; and if no person have such majority, then from the persons having the highest numbers not exceeding three on the list of those voted for as President, the House of Representatives shall choose immediately, by ballot, the President. But in choosing the President, the votes shall be taken by states, the representation from each state having one vote ; a quorum for this purpose shall consist of a member or members from two-thirds of the states, and a majority of all the states shall be necessary to a choice. And if the House of Representatives shall not choose a President whenever the right of choice shall devolve upon them, before the fourth day of March next following, then the Vice President shall act as President, as in the case of the death or other constitutional disability of the President. The person having the greatest number of votes as Vice President, shall be the Vice President, if such number be a majority of the whole number of Electors appointed, and if no person have a majority, then from the two highest numbers on the list, the Senate shall choose the Vice President ; a quorum for the purpose shall consist of two-thirds of the whole number of Senators, and a majority of the whole number shall be necessary to a choice. But no person constitutionally ineligible to the office of President shall be eligible to that of Vice President of the United States.

[ARTICLE XIII.]¹

SECTION 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

SECTION 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

[ARTICLE XIV.]²

SECTION 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States ; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without

¹ Proclaimed to be in force December 18, 1865.

² Proclaimed to be in force July 28, 1868.

due process of law ; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

SECTION 2. Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, counting the whole number of persons in each State, excluding Indians not taxed. But when the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the Executive and Judicial officers of a State, or the members of the Legislature thereof, is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being twenty-one years of age, and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged, except for participation in rebellion, or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens twenty-one years of age in such State.

SECTION 3. No person shall be a Senator or Representative in Congress, or elector of President and Vice President, or hold any office, civil or military, under the United States, or under any State, who, having previously taken an oath, as a member of Congress, or as an officer of the United States, or as a member of any State legislature, or as an executive or judicial officer of any State, to support the Constitution of the United States, shall have engaged in insurrection or rebellion against the same, or given aid or comfort to the enemies thereof. But Congress may by a vote of two-thirds of each House, remove such disability.

SECTION 4. The validity of the public debt of the United States, authorized by law, including debts incurred for payment of pensions and bounties for services in suppressing insurrection or rebellion, shall not be questioned. But neither the United States nor any State shall assume or pay any debt or obligation incurred in aid of insurrection or rebellion against the United States, or any claim for the loss of emancipation of any slave ; but all such debts, obligations and claims shall be held illegal and void.

SECTION 5. The Congress shall have power to enforce, by appropriate legislation, the provisions of this article.

[ARTICLE XV.]¹

SECTION 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

SECTION 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

¹ Proclaimed to be in force March 30, 1870.

APPENDIX III.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S SECOND INAUGURAL ADDRESS, MARCH 4, 1865.

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN: At this second appearing to take the oath of the Presidential office, there is less occasion for an extended address than there was at the first. Then, a statement, somewhat in detail, of a course to be pursued, seemed fitting and proper. Now, at the expiration of four years, during which public declarations have been constantly called forth on every point and phase of the great contest which still absorbs the attention and engrosses the energies of the nation, little that is new could be presented.

The progress of our arms, upon which all else chiefly depends, is as well known to the public as to myself; and it is, I trust, reasonably satisfactory and encouraging to all. With high hope for the future, no prediction in regard to it is ventured.

On the occasion corresponding to this, four years ago, all thoughts were anxiously directed to an impending civil war. All dreaded it—all sought to avert it. While the inaugural address was being delivered from this place, devoted altogether to saving the Union without war, insurgent agents were in the city seeking to destroy it without war—seeking to dissolve the Union, and divide effects, by negotiation. Both parties deprecated war; but one of them would make war rather than let the nation survive; and the other would accept war rather than let it perish. And the war came.

One-eighth of the whole population were colored slaves, not distributed generally over the Union, but localized in the Southern part of it. These slaves constituted a peculiar and powerful interest. All knew that this interest was, somehow, the cause of the war. To strengthen, perpetuate, and extend this interest was the object for which the insurgents would rend the Union, even by war, while the government claimed no right to do more than to restrict the territorial enlargement of it.

Neither party expected for the war the magnitude or the duration which it has already attained. Neither anticipated that the cause of the conflict might cease with, or even before, the conflict itself should cease. Each looked for an easier triumph, and a result less fundamental and astounding.

Both read the same Bible, and pray to the same God ; and each invokes his aid against the other. It may seem strange that any men should dare to ask a just God's assistance in wringing their bread from the sweat of other men's faces ; but let us judge not, that we be not judged. The prayers of both could not be answered — that of neither has been answered fully. The Almighty has his own purposes. "Woe unto the world because of offenses ! for it must needs be that offenses come ; but woe to that man by whom the offense cometh." If we shall suppose that American slavery is one of these offenses which, in the providence of God, must needs come, but which, having continued through his appointed time, he now wills to remove, and that he gives to both North and South this terrible war, as the woe due to those by whom the offense came, shall we discern therein any departure from those divine attributes which the believers in a living God always ascribe to him ? Fondly do we hope — fervently do we pray — that this mighty scourge of war may speedily pass away. Yet, if God wills that it continue until all the wealth piled by the bondman's two hundred and fifty years of unrequited toil shall be sunk, and until every drop of blood drawn with the lash shall be paid with another drawn with the sword, as was said three thousand years ago, so still it must be said, "The judgments of the Lord are true and righteous altogether."

With malice toward none ; with charity for all ; with firmness in the right, as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in ; to bind up the nation's wounds ; to care for him who shall have borne the battle, and for his widow, and his orphan — to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and a lasting peace among ourselves, and with all nations.

APPENDIX IV.

DATE OF THE ADMISSION OF THE STATES, SQUARE MILES
IN EACH, AND POPULATION AT THE CENSUS OF 1900.

	Date of Admission.	Square Miles.	Population. 1900.
1. Delaware	Dec. 7, 1787	2,050	184,735
2. Pennsylvania	Dec. 12, 1787	45,215	6,302,115
3. New Jersey	Dec. 18, 1787	7,815	1,883,609
4. Georgia	Jan. 2, 1788	59,475	2,216,331
5. Connecticut	Jan. 9, 1788	4,990	908,355
6. Massachusetts	Feb. 6, 1788	8,315	2,805,346
7. Maryland	April 28, 1788	12,210	1,190,050
8. South Carolina	May 23, 1788	30,570	1,340,316
9. New Hampshire	June 21, 1788	9,305	411,588
10. Virginia	June 25, 1788	42,450	1,854,184
11. New York	July 26, 1788	49,170	7,268,012
12. North Carolina	Nov. 21, 1789	52,250	1,893,810
13. Rhode Island	May 29, 1790	1,250	428,556
14. Vermont admitted	March 4, 1791	9,565	343,641
15. Kentucky "	June 1, 1792	40,400	2,147,174
16. Tennessee "	June 1, 1796	42,050	2,020,616
17. Ohio "	Feb. 19, 1803	41,060	4,157,545
18. Louisiana "	April 8, 1812	48,720	1,381,625
19. Indiana "	Dec. 11, 1816	36,350	2,516,462
20. Mississippi "	Dec. 10, 1817	46,810	1,551,270
21. Illinois "	Dec. 3, 1818	56,650	4,821,550
22. Alabama "	Dec. 14, 1819	52,250	1,828,697
23. Maine "	March 15, 1820	33,040	694,466
24. Missouri "	Aug. 10, 1821	69,415	3,106,665
25. Arkansas "	June 15, 1836	53,850	1,311,564
26. Michigan "	Jan. 26, 1837	58,915	2,420,982
27. Florida "	March 3, 1845	58,680	528,542
28. Texas "	Dec. 29, 1845	265,750	3,048,710
29. Iowa "	Dec. 28, 1846	56,025	2,231,353
30. Wisconsin "	May 29, 1848	56,040	2,069,042
31. California "	Sept. 9, 1850	158,360	1,485,053
32. Minnesota "	May 11, 1858	83,365	1,751,394
33. Oregon "	Feb. 14, 1859	96,030	413,536
34. Kansas "	Jan. 29, 1861	82,080	1,470,495
35. West Virginia "	June 19, 1863	24,780	958,800
36. Nevada "	Oct. 31, 1864	110,700	42,335
37. Nebraska "	March 1, 1867	77,510	1,068,539
38. Colorado "	Aug. 1, 1876	103,925	539,700
39. North Dakota "	Nov. 3, 1889	70,795	319,146
40. South Dakota "	Nov. 3, 1889	77,650	401,570
41. Montana "	Nov. 8, 1889	146,080	243,329
42. Washington "	Nov. 11, 1889	69,180	518,103
43. Idaho "	July 3, 1890	84,800	161,772
44. Wyoming "	July 10, 1890	97,590	92,531
45. Utah "	Jan. 4, 1896	84,970	276,749

TERRITORIES, Etc.

	Organized.	Square Miles.	Population.
District of Columbia.....	Mar. 3, 1791	70	278,718
New Mexico.....	Sept. 9, 1850	122,580	195,810
Arizona.....	Feb. 24, 1863	113,020	122,931
Oklahoma.....	May 2, 1890	39,030	398,245
Indian Territory (no territorial government)...	June 30, 1834	31,400	391,960
Alaska (unorganized).....	July 27, 1868	590,884 ¹	63,441
Hawaii.....	June 14, 1900	6,740 ²	154,001
Porto Rico.....	Apr. 12, 1900	3,600 ²	953,243
Philippines.....	Treaty, Feb. 6, 1899	143,000 ²	8,000,000 ²
Guam.....	Treaty, Feb. 6, 1899	150 ²	9,000 ²
Tutuila, etc.	Nov. 8, 1899 ²	500 ²	9,000 ²

Total gross area (land and water).....3,622,923 sq. miles.

Total water surface, exclusive of Alaska and Hawaii.....55,562 sq. miles.

Total land surface, exclusive of Alaska and Hawaii.....2,970,038 sq. miles.

Total population for 45 States.....74,978,911

Total population for Territories.....1,325,888

Total population States and Territories (including Hawaii).....76,304,799

Population Porto Rico, Census 1899.....953,243

Population Philippine Islands.....8,000,000 ²

Population Guam.....9,000 ²

Population Tutuila and neighboring islands.....9,000 ²

85,276,042 ²

NOTE.—Works of reference differ in giving statistics of the states and territories. Those given above are, with few exceptions, on the authority of *The Public Domain*, Thomas Donaldson, Washington, 1884, and the publications of the *Twelfth Census of the United States*. The areas given are those of the *Twelfth Census*, and are gross (land and water).

¹ Bought from Russia, March 30, 1867.

² Estimated.

³ By agreement with Great Britain and Germany.

APPENDIX V.

GROWTH OF THE UNITED STATES. — POPULATION AT EACH CENSUS, ALSO THE URBAN POPULATION.¹

Year.	Population.	Population living in Cities.	Inhabitants of Cities in each 100 of the Total Population.
1790	3,929,214	131,472	3.35
1800	5,308,483	210,873	3.97
1810	7,239,881	356,920	4.93
1820	9,633,822	475,135	4.93
1830	12,866,020	1,864,509	6.72
1840	17,069,453	1,453,994	8.52
1850	23,191,876	2,897,586	12.49
1860	31,443,321	5,072,256	16.13
1870	38,558,371	8,071,875	20.93
1880	50,155,783	11,318,547	22.57
1890	62,622,250	18,284,385	29.20
1900	76,304,799		

ANNEXATIONS OF TERRITORY.

1. Louisiana Purchase . . . 1803 . . . 1,032,790 square miles.
2. Florida Cession . . . 1819 . . . 58,680 square miles.
3. Texas Annexation . . . 1845 . . . 371,063 square miles.
4. Mexican Cession . . . 1848 . . . 522,568 square miles.
5. Gadsden Purchase . . . 1853 . . . 45,535 square miles.
6. Alaska Purchase . . . 1867 . . . 577,390 square miles.

¹ From Compendium of the Eleventh Census, Part I., p. lxxi.

APPENDIX VI.

REPRESENTATION IN CONGRESS FROM 1790 TO 1903.

Year.	Senate.		House of Representatives.		Ratio of Representation. ¹
	Free States.	Slave States.	Free States.	Slave States.	
1790	14	12	35	30	30,000
1793	16	14	57	48	33,000
1796	16	16	57	49	33,000
1803	18	16	76	65	33,000
1813	18	18	103	78	35,000
1816	20	18	103	78	35,000
1821	24	24	105	81	35,000
1823	24	24	123	90	40,000
1827	24	24	141	99	47,700
1837	26	26	142	100	47,700
1843	26	26	135	88	70,680
1848	30	30	140	91	70,680
1852	32	30	144	90	93,423
1860	36	30	147	90	93,423
1863		72		243	127,381
1873		76		293	131,425
1883		76		325	151,911
1893		88		356	173,901
1903		90		386	193,291

APPENDIX VII.

POPULATION OF THE FREE AND SLAVE STATES, 1790-1860.²

Year.	Free States.	Slave States.
1790	1,968,455	1,961,372
1800	2,684,616	2,621,316
1810	3,758,910	3,480,902
1820	5,152,372	4,487,819
1830	7,006,399	5,848,312
1840	9,733,922	7,331,133
1850	13,599,488	9,663,997
1860	19,128,418	12,315,372

¹ The number of representatives is fixed by Congress every ten years (Constitution, Art. I., sect. 2 [3]). By the last act, January 11, 1901, it was provided that there should be one representative for every 193,291 persons.

² From *Tribune Almanac*, 1862.

APPENDIX VIII.

LIST OF THE PRESIDENTS AND VICE-PRESIDENTS.

No.	President.	State.	Born.	Died.	Term of Office.	By whom elected.	Vice-President.
1	George Washington	Virginia	1732	1799	Two terms; 1789-1797	Whole people.	John Adams.
2	John Adams	Massachusetts	1735	1826	One term; 1797-1801	Federalists	Thomas Jefferson.
3	Thomas Jefferson	Virginia	1743	1826	Two terms; 1801-1809	Democratic-Republicans	Aaron Burr.
4	James Madison	Virginia	1751	1836	Two terms; 1809-1817	Democratic-Republicans	George Clinton.
5	James Monroe	Virginia	1758	1831	Two terms; 1817-1825	Democratic-Republicans	Elbridge Gerry.
6	John Quincy Adams	Massachusetts	1765	1848	One term; 1825-1829	House of Rep.	Daniel D. Tompkins.
7	Andrew Jackson	Tennessee	1767	1845	Two terms; 1829-1837	Democrats	John C. Calhoun.
8	Martin Van Buren	New York	1782	1862	One term; 1837-1841	Democrats	John C. Calhoun.
9	William H. Harrison	Ohio	1773	1841	One month; 1841	Whigs	Martin Van Buren.
10	John Tyler	Virginia	1790	1862	3 years and 11 months; 1841-1845	Whigs	Richard M. Johnson.
11	James K. Polk	Tennessee	1795	1849	One term; 1845-1849	Democrats	John Tyler.
12	Zachary Taylor	Louisiana	1784	1850	1 year and 4 months; 1849-1850	Whigs	George M. Dallas.
13	Millard Fillmore	New York	1800	1874	2 years and 8 months; 1850-1853	Whigs	Millard Fillmore.
14	Franklin Pierce	N. Hampshire	1804	1869	One term; 1853-1857	Democrats	William L. King.
15	James Buchanan	Pennsylvania	1791	1868	One term; 1857-1861	Democrats	J. C. Breckinridge.
16	Abraham Lincoln	Illinois	1809	1865	One term and 6 weeks; 1861-1865	Republicans	Hamiah Hamlin.
17	Andrew Johnson	Tennessee	1808	1875	3 years and 10½ months; 1865-1869	Republicans	Andrew Johnson.
18	Clydes S. Grant	Illinois	1822	1885	Two terms; 1869-1877	Republicans	Schuyler Colfax.
19	Rutherford B. Hayes	Ohio	1822	1893	One term; 1877-1881	Republicans	Henry Wilson.
20	James A. Garfield	Ohio	1831	1881	Six months and 15 days; 1881	Republicans	William A. Wheeler.
21	Chester A. Arthur	New York	1830	1886	3 years, 5 mos., 15 days; 1881-1885	Republicans	Chester A. Arthur.
22	Grover Cleveland	New York	1837	1901	One term; 1885-1889	Democrats	Thomas A. Hendricks.
23	Benjamin Harrison	Indiana	1833	1901	One term; 1889-1893	Republicans	Levi P. Morton.
24	Grover Cleveland	New York	1837	...	One term; 1893-1897	Democrats	Adlai E. Stevenson.
25	William McKinley	Ohio	1843	...	Two terms; 1897-	Republicans	Garret A. Hobart. Theodore Roosevelt.

† Died in office.

APPENDIX IX.

CHIEF DATES IN AMERICAN HISTORY.

DISCOVERY AND ATTEMPTS AT COLONIZATION, 1000-1605.

The Northmen, 1000(?).
Columbus discovers San Salvador, October 12, 1492.
The Cabots discover the continent of North America, 1497.
Amerigo Vespucci makes four voyages, 1499-1503.
Waldseemüller suggests the name AMERICA, 1507.
Ponce de Leon discovers Florida, 1513.
Balboa discovers the Pacific, 1513.
One ship of Magellan's fleet sails round the world, 1519-1522.
Cortez conquers Mexico for Spain, 1519-1521.
De Soto discovers the Mississippi, 1541; dies, 1542.
Menendez, the Spaniard, settles St. Augustine, Florida, the oldest town in the United States, 1565.
Martin Frobisher attempts to make a settlement in Labrador, 1576.
Santa Fé, New Mexico, founded by the Spaniards, 1582(?).
Sir Humphrey Gilbert's voyages, 1578-1583.
Sir Walter Raleigh's attempts at colonization, 1584-1587.
Gosnold's colony at Cuttyhunk, Buzzards Bay (a failure), 1602.

COLONIZATION AND INTER-COLONIAL WARS, 1605-1763.

French settle Port Royal (Annapolis) in Acadie, 1605.
Charters granted to the London and Plymouth Companies, 1606.

Jamestown, Virginia, the first permanent English settlement in America, founded, 1607.
Champlain founds Quebec, 1608.
Henry Hudson discovers the Hudson River, 1609.
Trading post established by the Dutch on Manhattan Island, 1613.
Virginia House of Burgesses, the first representative body in America, meets, 1619.
A Dutch ship brings to Virginia the first cargo of negro slaves, 1619.
Pilgrims land at Plymouth, December 21, 1620.
Fort Amsterdam, afterwards New York, founded by the Dutch, 1626.
John Endicott comes to Naumkeag (Salem), 1628.
Patroons in New York, 1629.
Boston founded, 1630.
Charter granted to Lord Baltimore, 1632.
Collegiate School of the Dutch Church founded, 1633.¹
Leonard Calvert founds St. Mary's, Maryland, 1634.
Religious toleration granted in Maryland to all who believe in Jesus Christ, 1634.
Wethersfield, Hartford, and Windsor, Connecticut, founded, 1635.
Boston Latin School founded, 1635.¹
Harvard College founded, 1636.
Roger Williams founds Providence, Rhode Island, 1636.
Pequot War, 1636, 1637.
New Haven founded, 1637.
Swedes settle on the Delaware River, 1638.
"Fundamental Orders of Connecticut," first written constitution in America, January 14, 1638(9).
"United Colonies of New England," 1643.
Toleration Act in Maryland, 1649.

¹ Still flourishing in 1901.

The Quakers in Massachusetts and Plymouth, 1656.
 William Robinson and Marmaduke Stevenson, two Quakers, hung on Boston Common, 1659.
 Mary Dyer, a Quaker, hung on Boston Common, 1660.
 William Leddra, a Quaker, hung on Boston Common, 1661.
 Eliot's Indian New Testament printed, 1661.
 Rhode Island Charter (in force till 1843), 1663.
 Eliot's Indian Bible printed, 1663.
 English capture New Amsterdam, which becomes New York, 1664.
 Elizabeth, New Jersey, settled by the English, 1665.
 The "Model" government for Carolina, 1669.
 Settlement on the Ashley River, South Carolina, 1670.
 George Fox visits America, 1672.
 A Dutch fleet captures New York, 1673.
 New Jersey divided into East and West Jersey, 1674.
 New York restored to the English by treaty, 1674.
 King Philip's War, 1675.
 Bacon's Rebellion in Virginia, 1676.
 Massachusetts buys Gorges's rights in Maine, 1677.
 William Penn and others buy West Jersey, 1677.
 Philadelphia founded, 1682.
 William Penn lands at Chester, 1682.
 Massachusetts charter annulled, 1684.
 Rule of Sir Edmund Andros, 1686-1688.
 William Penn Charter School founded in Philadelphia, 1689.¹
 King William's War, 1689-1697.
 Jacob Leisler, lieutenant-governor of New York, 1689.
 First Congress of Colonies at New York, 1690.
 Massachusetts given a new charter, 1691.
 Leisler executed, 1691.
 William and Mary College, Virginia, founded, 1692.
 Witchcraft delusion, 1692, 1693. [1695.
 John Archdale, governor of North Carolina, Peace of Ryswick in Europe, end of King William's War, 1697.
 Yale College founded, 1701.
 Queen Anne's War begins, 1702.
Boston News Letter, first American newspaper, 1704.
 Queen Anne's Wars ended by Treaty of Utrecht, 1713.

England secures the right to supply America with slaves (the Assiento), 1713.
 Tuscaroras join the Five Nations, which become the "Six Nations," 1713.
 Rhode Island disfranchises Roman Catholics, 1715.
 New Orleans founded by the French, 1718.
 Bering sails through Bering's Straits, 1728.
 George Berkeley (Bishop Berkeley) comes to Rhode Island, 1729.
 Proprietors of Carolina surrender their patent, 1729.
 Baltimore, Maryland, founded, 1730.
 Oglethorpe founds Savannah, Georgia, 1733.
 Richmond, Virginia, laid out, 1733.
 John and Charles Wesley go to Georgia, 1736.
 George Whitefield visits Georgia, 1738.
 King George's War begins, 1744.
 Capture of Louisburg, 1745.
 College of New Jersey, Princeton, founded, 1746.
 King George's War ends by treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle, 1748.
 Ohio Company organized, 1748.
 University of Pennsylvania founded, 1749.
 Georgia becomes a royal colony, 1752.
 George Washington sent to the French, 1753.
 King's, afterwards Columbia, College, chartered, 1754.
 Washington surrenders, 1754.
 Albany Convention, 1754.
 French and Indian War, 1754-1763.
 Braddock's defeat, 1755.
 Wolfe takes Quebec, 1759. [1760.
 Montreal taken, and England gains all Canada, Peace of Paris, 1763.
 Mason and Dixon's Line, 1763.

THE REVOLUTION AND CONFEDERATION, 1765-1789.

The Stamp Act, 1765.
 Stamp Act Congress in New York, 1765.
 Declaratory Act, March 7, 1766.
 Repeal of the Stamp Act, March 18, 1766.
 Townshend Acts, 1767.
 John Dickinson's Farmer's Letters, 1767.
 John Hancock's sloop seized, 1768.
 British troops reach Boston, 1768.
 "Boston Massacre," March 5, 1770.
 Removal of taxes except upon Tea, April, 1770.
 "Boston Tea Party," December 16, 1773.
 Boston Port Bill, 1774.
 Massachusetts Bill, 1774.
 Transportation Bill, 1774.

¹ Still flourishing in 1901.

Quartering of Troops Bill, 1774.

Quebec Bill, 1774.

First Continental Congress (proposed by Virginia), meets in Philadelphia, September 5, 1774.

Battle of Lexington, April 19, 1775.

Second Continental Congress meets, May 10, 1775.

Ticonderoga captured, May 10, 1775.

Mecklenburg (North Carolina) resolutions passed, May 31, 1775.

Washington elected commander-in-chief, June 15, 1775; commissioned, June 19, 1775.

Battle of Bunker Hill, June 17, 1775.

Washington takes command at Cambridge, Massachusetts, July 3, 1775.

Union flag first displayed at Cambridge, January 1, 1776.

British evacuate Boston, March 17, 1776.

Congress calls upon the states to provide independent governments, May 15, 1776.

Resolutions of independence introduced into Congress, June 7, 1776.

Declaration of Independence, July 4, 1776.

Declaration of Independence signed by the members of Congress, August 2, 1776.

American defeat on Long Island, August 27, 1776.

Washington evacuates New York City, September 14, 1776.

Washington retreats across New Jersey and crosses Delaware River, December, 1776.

Trenton surprised by Washington, December 26, 1776.

Washington successful at Princeton, January 2, 3, 1777.

Lafayette joins American army, July, 1777.

British defeat Americans at Chad's Ford, Brandywine Creek, September 11, 1777.

Howe takes possession of Philadelphia, September 26, 1777.

Battle of Germantown, October 4, 1777.

Burgoyne surrenders at Saratoga, October 17, 1777.

Articles of Confederation adopted by Congress, November 15, 1777.

Washington goes into winter quarters at Valley Forge, December 19, 1777.

France acknowledges the independence of the United States, and makes treaties with her, February 6, 1778.

British evacuate Philadelphia, June 18, 1778.

Battle of Monmouth, June 28, 1778.

Massacre at Wyoming, Pennsylvania, July 3, 1778.

Massacre at Cherry Valley, New York, November 11, 1778.

British take Savannah, December 29, 1778.

George Rogers Clark takes Vincennes, 1779.

British rout Americans at Camden, South Carolina, August 16, 1780.

Arnold's treason, September, 1780.

André executed, October 2, 1780.

General Nathanael Greene takes command of southern army, December 2, 1780.

Robert Morris, Superintendent of Finance, February 20, 1781.

Maryland joins the Confederation, March 1, 1781.

Cornwallis surrenders at Yorktown, Virginia, October 19, 1781.

Bank of North America, Philadelphia, chartered by Congress, December 31, 1781.

Provisional treaty of peace with Great Britain, November 30, 1782.

Washington proclaims cessation of hostilities, April 19, 1783.

Definitive treaty of peace with Great Britain, September 3, 1783.

New York evacuated by the British, November 25, 1783.

Washington resigns his commission as commander-in-chief, December 23, 1783.

Maryland and Virginia commissioners meet at Alexandria, Virginia, March, 1785.

Annapolis Convention, September, 1786.

Shays's Rebellion in Massachusetts, December, 1786.

Constitutional Convention meets at Philadelphia, May 14, 1787.

Ordinance for Northwest Territory adopted by Congress, July 13, 1787.

Constitution signed in the Convention, September 17, 1787.

Constitution published, September 19, 1787.

Delaware the first state to ratify the Constitution, December 7, 1787.

New Hampshire the ninth state to ratify the Constitution, June 21, 1788.

Last records of the Continental Congress, November 1, 1788.

The Federalist papers collected and published, 1788.

Washington and Adams declared President and Vice-President, April 6, 1789.

THE UNITED STATES UNDER THE CONSTITUTION, 1789-1861.

Washington inaugurated at New York, April 30, 1789.

Organization of the new government, 1789.

Tariff for revenue and protection, 1791.

First United States Bank established, 1791.
 Captain Robert Gray explores and names the Columbia River, 1792.
 Eli Whitney invents the Cotton-Gin, 1793.
 Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania, 1794.
 Jay's Treaty with Great Britain, November 19, 1794.
 Washington's Farewell Address, 1796.
 John Adams, President, March 4, 1797.
 X. Y. Z. Correspondence, 1798.
 French War with United States, 1798.
 Alien and Sedition Laws, 1798.
 Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions, 1798, 1799.
 Peace with France, 1799.
 Death of Washington, December 14, 1799.
 Washington city becomes the national capital, 1800.
 Thomas Jefferson chosen President by the House of Representatives, February 17, 1801.
 Thomas Jefferson, President, March 4, 1801.
 Tripolitan War, 1801.
 Louisiana bought from France, April 30, 1803.
 Lewis and Clark expedition, 1804-1806.
 The *Leopard* and the *Chesapeake*, 1807.
 Fulton's Steamboat, 1807.
 The Embargo Act, December 22, 1807.
 The Foreign Slave Trade made illegal, 1808.
 Non-Intercourse Act passed, March 1, 1809.
 James Madison, President, March 4, 1809.
 Battle of Tippecanoe, November 7, 1811.
 United States declares war against Great Britain, June 18, 1812.
 Great Britain revokes her "Orders in Council," June 23, 1812.
 Hull surrenders Detroit, August 16, 1812.
 Perry's victory on Lake Erie, September 10, 1813.
 British capture and burn Washington, August 24, 25, 1814.
 British repulsed at Baltimore, September 13, 1814.
 Hartford Convention meets December 15, 1814.
 Treaty of peace signed at Ghent, December 24, 1814.
 Battle of New Orleans, January 8, 1815.
 Second Bank of United States, April, 1816.
 Protective duties imposed on iron, etc., 1816.
 James Monroe, President, March 4, 1817.
 Erie Canal begun, July 4, 1817.
 The *Savannah*, the first steamship to cross the ocean, 1819.
 Florida bought from Spain, 1819.
 Missouri Compromise, 1820.
 Monroe Doctrine stated, December 2, 1823.
 Lafayette visits the United States, 1824, 1825.
 Protective tariff passed, 1824.

John Quincy Adams chosen President by the House of Representatives, February 9, 1825.
 John Quincy Adams, President, March 4, 1825.
 University of Virginia opened, March 25, 1825.
 Erie Canal opened, October 26, 1825.
 American Temperance Society organized at Boston, 1826.
 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad (the first passenger road in America) begun at Baltimore, 1828.
 The "Tariff of Abominations," 1828.
 Andrew Jackson, President, March 4, 1829.
 "Spoils System" in American politics begins, 1829.
 Rise of the Mormons, 1830.
 Hayne and Webster debate in United States Senate, January, 1830.
 Baltimore and Ohio Railroad opened, 1830.
 Nat Turner Insurrection, 1831.
 John C. Calhoun proposes "Nullification," 1831.
 William Lloyd Garrison begins to publish *The Liberator*, January 1, 1831.
 Jackson vetoes the bill for the renewal of the charter of the United States Bank, July 10, 1832.
 South Carolina passes Nullification ordinance, November 19, 1832.
 Jackson issues his Nullification Proclamation, December 11, 1832.
 New England Antislavery Society formed, 1832.
 The Compromise tariff, March 2, 1833.
 Jackson's order for cessation of deposits, September, 1833.
New York Sun founded, 1833.
 Obed Hussey patents a reaper, 1833.
 Cyrus McCormick patents his reaping machinery, 1834.
 Antislavery riots, 1834-1835.
 Great fire in New York, 1835.
 John Ericsson introduces screw propeller, 1836.
 Texas declares herself independent, March 2, 1836.
 The Specie Circular issued, July 11, 1836.
 United States government free of debt, 1836.
 Martin Van Buren, President, March 4, 1837.
 Financial panic of 1837.
 United States Sub-Treasury System established, 1840.
 Liberty party formed, 1840.
 William Henry Harrison, President, March 4, 1841.
 President Harrison dies, April 4, 1841.
 John Tyler, the Vice-President, becomes President, April 4, 1841.
 Ashburton treaty with Great Britain, August 7, 1842.

Protective tariff of 1842.

Dr. Whitman's ride, Oregon to St. Louis, 1842.

Dorr War in Rhode Island, 1842.

Anti-rent agitation in New York, 1842.

Morse's telegraph set up between Baltimore and Washington; first message, May 24, 1844.

Congress passes joint resolution for annexation of Texas, March 3, 1845.

James K. Polk, President, March 4, 1845.

Texas annexed, July 4; admitted as a state, December 29, 1845.

Naval Academy at Annapolis founded, 1845.

Congress declares that war exists by the act of Mexico, May 13, 1846.

Wilmot Proviso, August, 1846.

Revenue tariff of 1846.

Treaty with Great Britain relative to Oregon boundary, June 15, 1846.

Elias Howe invents his sewing-machine, 1846.

Sub-Treasury Act re-enacted, 1846.

Smithsonian Institution founded, 1846.

California and New Mexico seized, 1846.

City of Mexico taken, 1847.

Gold discovered in California, January, 1848.

Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, February 2, 1848.

John Quincy Adams dies, February 23, 1848.

Mormons emigrate to Utah, 1848.

President Taylor dies, and Millard Fillmore succeeds, July 9, 1850.

"Compromise of 1850."

Fugitive Slave Law passed, 1850.

Postage on letters reduced to three cents, 1851.

Franklin Pierce President, March 4, 1853.

World's Fair in New York, 1853.

"Uncle Tom's Cabin" published in book form, 1852.

Gadsden purchase, 1853.

Kansas-Nebraska Bill passed, May 30, 1854.

Perry's treaty with Japan, 1854.

Ostend Manifesto, 1854.

The Republican party formed, 1854.

James Buchanan, President, March 4, 1857.

Dred Scott decision published, March 6, 1857.

Business panic, 1857.

First Atlantic cable, August, 1858.

John Brown seizes Harper's Ferry, October 16, 1859.

South Carolina passes secession ordinance, December 20, 1860.

Confederate Congress meets at Montgomery, Alabama, February 4, 1861.

Confederate Constitution adopted, February 8, 1861.

Jefferson Davis and Alexander H. Stephens elected President and Vice-President of Confederate states, February 9, 1861.

Abraham Lincoln, President, March 4, 1861.

Fort Sumter fired upon, April 12, 1861.

Fort Sumter surrendered, April 13, 1861.

President Lincoln calls for 75,000 volunteers, April 15, 1861.

CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION, 1861-1867.

Massachusetts troops attacked in Baltimore, April 19, 1861.

Eleven states passed ordinances of secession by June, 1861.

First battle of Bull Run, July 21, 1861.

Mason and Slidell taken from the *Trent*, November 8, 1861.

Monitor and *Merrimac*, March 9, 1862.

Farragut takes New Orleans, April 25, 1862.

Preliminary Emancipation Proclamation, September 22, 1862.

Emancipation Proclamation, January 1, 1863.

National Bank Act, March 25, 1863.

Battle of Gettysburg, July 1, 2, 3, 1863.

Surrender of Vicksburg, July 4, 1863.

Draft riots in New York City, July 13-16, 1863.

Kearsarge sinks the *Alabama* off Cherbourg, France, June 19, 1864.

Postal money order system adopted, 1864.

Early's raid on Washington, July, 1864.

Maryland abolishes slavery, October 10, 1864.

Sherman takes Savannah, December 21, 1864.

Richmond evacuated by Confederates, April 2, 1865.

Lee surrenders at Appomattox, April 9, 1865.

President Lincoln assassinated, April 14, 1865.

Andrew Johnson, President, April 15, 1865.

Joseph E. Johnston surrenders to Sherman, April 26, 1865.

Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution, abolishing slavery, adopted, December 18, 1865.

Atlantic telegraph laid, July 28, 1866.

Alaska bought, March 30, 1867.

President Johnson impeached, 1868.

Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution adopted, July 28, 1868.

Ulysses S. Grant, President, March 4, 1869.

Pacific Railroad completed, May 10, 1869.

Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution adopted, March 30, 1870.

All states represented in Congress, 1871.

THE NEW NATION, 1867-1901.

Treaty of Washington, May 8, 1871.

Chicago fire, October 8, 1871.

Chief Dates in American History. xxxiii

- Forest fires in Michigan and Wisconsin, October, 1871.
- Geneva Arbitration results proclaimed, September 14, 1872.
- Boston fire, November 9, 1872.
- Financial panic, 1873.
- Franking privilege abolished, July 1, 1873.
- Congress provides, January 14, 1875, for resumption of specie payment to begin January 1, 1879.
- Centennial Exhibition, Philadelphia, May to November, 1876.
- Electoral Commission, 1877.
- Rutherford B. Hayes, President, March 4, 1877.
- Great railroad strikes, 1877.
- Bland Silver Bill passed, February, 1878.
- Fishery dispute settled with Great Britain, 1878.
- Resumption of specie payment, January 1, 1879.
- Mississippi jetties, 1879.
- James A. Garfield, President, March 4, 1881.
- President Garfield assassinated, July 2, 1881.
- President Garfield dies, September 19, 1881.
- Chester A. Arthur, President, September 19, 1881.
- Yorktown celebration, October 19, 1881.
- Civil Service Act, 1883.
- Brooklyn Bridge finished, May 24, 1883.
- Letter postage reduced to two cents, 1883.
- Cotton exhibition at New Orleans, 1884.
- Washington Monument dedicated, February 21, 1885.
- Grover Cleveland, President, March 4, 1885.
- Presidential Succession and Electoral Count Bills passed, 1886.
- Anarchist riot in Chicago, May, 1886.
- Charleston earthquake, 1886.
- Interstate Commerce Act, 1887.
- Centennial Celebration of adoption of Constitution, September 15-17, 1887.
- Chinese Immigration Act, 1888.
- Benjamin Harrison, President, March 4, 1889.
- Centennial Celebration of Washington's inauguration, April 29 to May 1, 1889.
- Johnstown flood, May 31, 1889.
- Pan-American Congress, 1889, 1890.
- International Copyright Act, 1891.
- Homestead labor troubles, 1892.
- Grover Cleveland, President for the second time, March 4, 1893.
- Columbian Fair at Chicago, May 1 to October 31, 1893.
- Bering Sea arbitrators publish their decision, August, 1893.
- Pullman strike, 1894.
- Coal miners' strike, 1894.
- William McKinley elected President, 1896.
- Venezuela Agreement, 1896.
- Dingley Tariff Bill, 1897.
- Charter of Greater New York goes into effect January 1, 1898.
- Maine* destroyed in harbor of Havana, February 15, 1898.
- President McKinley's message on Cuban affairs, April 11, 1898.
- Declaration of war with Spain, April 25, 1898.
- Destruction of Spanish fleet in Manila Harbor, May 1, 1898.
- War Revenue Act, June 13, 1898.
- Battles of El Caney and San Juan, July 1, 2, 1898.
- Destruction of Cervera's fleet, July 3, 1898.
- Annexation of Hawaii, July 7, 1898.
- Surrender of Santiago de Cuba, July 17, 1898.
- General Miles lands in Porto Rico, July 25, 1898.
- Protocol of Peace signed August 12, 1898.
- Manila taken, August 13, 1898.
- Spaniards begin to evacuate Porto Rico, September 20, 1898.
- Treaty of Peace with Spain signed December 10, 1898.
- Spaniards evacuate Cuba, January 1, 1899.
- Treaty of Peace ratified by Senate, February 6, 1899.
- Tutuila and adjacent islands (part of the Samoan group) annexed, December 2, 1899.
- Samoan Treaty ratified by Senate, January 16, 1900.
- Gold Standard Bill signed, March 14, 1900.
- McKinley and Roosevelt nominated, June 21, 1900.
- Bryan and Stevenson nominated, July 5, 1900.
- Tornado at Galveston, September 8, 9, 1900.
- William McKinley inaugurated for second term, March 4, 1901.
- Ex-President Harrison dies, March 13, 1901.
- Aguinaldo captured, March 23, 1901.

APPENDIX X.

TOPICAL ANALYSIS.

Physical Features of North America, pages xiv-xvi.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Effects of Climate. The Tropics. The Polar Regions. The Temperate Zone. Fertility and Rainfall. Atlantic Slope. Basin of the Mississippi. Metals and Minerals. Fertile Soil and Raised Crops. Pacific Slope. Prehistoric Settlement. Anglo-Saxon race.
North America, 1000-1492.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 1. 2. Early Inhabitants. { Habits. 3. Northmen. { Dwellings. 4. Early Discoveries. { Races, Territory covered.
Columbus, 1492.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 4. Education. Aid received. 4. San Salvador.
Other Discoverers, 1493-1542.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 5. The Cabots ; the Continent of North America. 5. The Spaniards. 5. Amerigo Vespucci ; South America. 6. Ponce de Leon ; Florida. 6. Balboa ; the Pacific. 6. Magellan ; Circumnavigation of the World. 6. Cortez ; Mexico. 6. De Soto ; Mississippi River.
English Attempts at Colonization, 1576-1605.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 7. Frobisher. Sir Humphrey Gilbert. 7. Sir Walter Raleigh, and his Colonies. 7. Gosnold.
French Attempts at Colonization, 1540-1564.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 8. Quebec. 8. Port Royal (South Carolina). 8. St. Augustine (Fort Caroline).
Spanish Attempts at Colonization, 1565-1582.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 8. St. Augustine. 8. Santa Fé. 8. Mexico.

Topical Analysis.

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COLONIZATION.

- | | | | | | |
|--|--|----------------|--|----------------------------|--|
| Virginia,
1606-1619. | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 9. The London Company. 9. The Plymouth Company. 9. Jamestown. 9. Captain John Smith. 10. Slaves. 10. First Representative Body. | | | | |
| Dutch, 1609-1626. | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 11. Henry Hudson, 1607. 11. Fort Amsterdam, 1626. | | | | |
| Swedes,
1638-1655. | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 11. On the Delaware. 11. Conquered by the Dutch, 1655. | | | | |
| Massachusetts,
1607-1635. | <table border="0"> <tr> <td data-bbox="277 510 353 565">Ply-
mouth.</td> <td data-bbox="405 476 819 590">{ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12. Plymouth Company. 12. Religious Persecution in Europe. 13. The Pilgrims. { Hardships. 14. { Myles Standish. </td> </tr> <tr> <td data-bbox="277 639 366 724">Massa-
chusetts
Bay.</td> <td data-bbox="405 590 855 761">{ <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 15. Massachusetts Bay Colony. 15. The Puritans. 15. John Endicott. 16. Special Characteristics of the Colony. 17. Growth of Political Freedom. 17. Religious Intolerance. </td> </tr> </table> | Ply-
mouth. | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12. Plymouth Company. 12. Religious Persecution in Europe. 13. The Pilgrims. { Hardships. 14. { Myles Standish. | Massa-
chusetts
Bay. | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 15. Massachusetts Bay Colony. 15. The Puritans. 15. John Endicott. 16. Special Characteristics of the Colony. 17. Growth of Political Freedom. 17. Religious Intolerance. |
| Ply-
mouth. | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 12. Plymouth Company. 12. Religious Persecution in Europe. 13. The Pilgrims. { Hardships. 14. { Myles Standish. | | | | |
| Massa-
chusetts
Bay. | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 15. Massachusetts Bay Colony. 15. The Puritans. 15. John Endicott. 16. Special Characteristics of the Colony. 17. Growth of Political Freedom. 17. Religious Intolerance. | | | | |
| Rhode Island,
1636-1663. | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 18. Roger Williams. 19. Providence founded. 19. Portsmouth founded. 19. Newport founded. 19. Charters granted. 19. Religious liberty. | | | | |
| Massachusetts. | 20. Boston settled, 1630. | | | | |
| Connecticut,
1635-1664. | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 20. Settlement. 20. "Fundamental Orders of Connecticut." 20. Charter. 20. New Haven. | | | | |
| Maine (New Hamp-
shire), 1627-1677. | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 21. Settlement. 21. Division into Maine and New Hampshire. 21. Massachusetts acquires Maine. | | | | |
| Vermont. | 21. Claimed by New York and New Hampshire. | | | | |
| Maryland,
1632-1716. | { <ul style="list-style-type: none"> 22. Lord Baltimore. 22. Charter. 22. Religious Toleration. 23. Settlement. 23. The "Toleration Act." Religious Troubles. | | | | |

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|-------------------------------------|--|
| Virginia,
1624-1716. | { 24. Becomes a Royal Colony.
25. Bacon's Rebellion.
26. Growth and Prosperity.
26. Indentured Servants. |
| The Carolinas,
1663-1729. | { 27. Charter.
28. John Locke.
28. John Archdale.
29. North Carolina.
29. Character of Settlers.
30. South Carolina. |
| New York, 1626-1691. | { 31. Settlement.
31. Grant to the Duke of York.
32. Conflict with the Indians.
33. Restored to the Dutch.
33. Restored to the English.
33. Jacob Leisler.
34. The Patroons.
34. Education. |
| New Jersey,
1664-1738. | { 35. Settlement.
35. Government.
36. East and West Jersey.
37. William Penn.
38. Presbyterian Influence.
38. Royal Colony. |
| Pennsylvania,
1681-1718. | { 39. William Penn.
39. Charter.
39. Boundaries.
40. The "Holy Experiment."
41. Frame of Government.
42. Settlement.
42. Penn's Treaty with Indians.
43. Philadelphia founded.
43. Prosperity of the Colony. |
| Delaware, 1682. | { 43. Bought by Penn. |
| Georgia, 1732. | { 44. James Oglethorpe.
44. The Charter. The Settlement.
44. The Wesleys.
44. A Royal Colony. |

ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND INDIANS. (1636-1763.)

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|---|---|
| English Colonists,
1636-1700. | { 45. Political Condition of the Colonies.
45. Common Interests. |
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(*English Colonists --
continued.*)

- 46. Colonists and Indians.
- 47. John Eliot.
- 48. Situation and Growth of the Colonies.
- 49. Pequot War.
- 50. United Colonies of New England, 1643-1684.
- 51. King Philip's War.
- 52. Relations with the Dutch.
- 52. Relations with the French.
- 52. Champlain, Marquette, La Salle.
- 53. French and Indians.
- 53. Strength and Weakness of the French.
- 54. Civil War in England.
- 55. The Restoration.
- 55. The Navigation Acts.
- 55. Charters revoked.
- 56. Rule of Andros.
- 57. Charters restored.
- 58. Religious Intolerance.
- 59. The Quakers.
- 60. Witchcraft Delusion.
- 61. Beliefs and Customs.
- 62. Money, Commerce, Piracy.
- 63. Social Life.
- 63. Restrictions on Trade.
- 63. Slavery.
- 64. Education.
- 65. Means of Communication.
- 65. The Mail.

First, Second, and
Third Inter-
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1689-1753.

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|--|---|---|
| King William's War,
1689-1697. | { | 66. Causes.
66. Incidents.
66. Congress of English
Colonies.
66. Results. |
| Queen Anne's War,
1702-1713. | { | 67. Causes.
67. Incidents.
67. Results. |
| King George's War,
1744-1748. | { | 68. Causes.
68. Incidents.
68. Results. |
| 69. Lessons of the Intercolonial Wars. | | |
| 70. The Slave Trade. | | |

Fourth Inter-
Colonial, or French
and Indian War,
1754-1763.

- 71. French and English Colonies.
- 72. Ohio Company.
- 73. Washington's Expedition.
- 74. The Albany Convention.
- 74. Franklin's Plan of Union.
- 75. Lines of Attack.
- 76. Braddock's Defeat.
- 77. Acadie.
- 78. French Success.
- 78. Marquis of Montcalm.
- 78. William Pitt.
- 79. English Plans.
- 79. Wolfe.
- 80. Quebec.
- 81. Conditions of Peace.
- 81. Results. (*Map.*)
- 82. Conspiracy of Pontiac.

THE ENGLISH COLONIES AND THE REVOLUTION. (1763-1782.)

Causes, etc., of the
Revolution,
1763-1775.

- 83. Political Condition.
- 83. Forms of Colonial Government.
- 84. Domestic Life and Manners.
- 85. English Policy.
- 86. Eighteenth Century Views on Economic Questions.
- 86. Navigation Laws.
- 87. Restrictions upon Trade.
- 87. "Writs of Assistance."
- 87. Representation and Taxation.
- 88. Representation in England.
- 89. Stamp Act.
- 90. "Sons of Liberty."
- 90. Patrick Henry.
- 91. Stamp Act Congress.
- 92. Repeal of Stamp Act.
- 93. Real Purpose of Taxation.
- 94. Objections of the Colonists.
- 95. Townshend Acts.
- 96. The "Farmer's Letters."
- 97. Resistance in the Colonies.
- 98. Removal of Taxes except on Tea.

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The Revolution,
1775-1782.

99. Committees of Correspondence.
100. Attempts to Force Tea upon Colonists.
101. The Five "Intolerable Acts."
102. General Congress proposed.
102. Boston Port Bill.
103. The First Continental Congress.
104. Whigs and Tories.
104. Preparations for Conflict.
105. Lexington and Concord.
106. Second Continental Congress.
106. Washington Commander-in-Chief.
107. Bunker Hill.
108. Boston Evacuated.
108. Canada.
109. King and Colonists.
110. Origin of the States.
111. Mecklenburg Resolutions.
112. Declaration of Independence.
113. British Plans of Attack.
114. New York Campaign.
115. Trenton, Newport, Lafayette, Steuben.
117. Burgoyne's Surrender.
118. Howe's Philadelphia Campaign.
119. Brandywine.
120. Valley Forge. Germantown.
121. Conway Cabal.
122. French Alliance.
122. Benjamin Franklin.
123. Effect of the French Alliance.
124. British Failure in Middle Colonies.
125. French Aid.
125. The Indians.
126. American Retaliation.
127. John Paul Jones; the American Navy.
128. Western Settlements.
128. Daniel Boone.
128. George Rogers Clark.
129. Continental Money.
130. Foreign Loans.
131. Robert Morris.

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- 132. Benedict Arnold.
- 133. Arnold's Treason.
- 134. Southern Campaign. (*Map.*)
- 135. General Nathanael Greene.
- 136. Cornwallis goes to Virginia.
- 137. Yorktown.
- 138. Surrender of Cornwallis.
- 139. Peace.

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The Confederation,
1782-1787.

- 140. Land Claims. (*Map.*)
- 140. Western Reserve.
- 141. Weakness of the Confederation.
- 141. Shays's Rebellion.
- 142. Interstate Jealousies.
- 142. Convention proposed.
- 143. Constitutional Convention.

The Constitution,
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- 144. Its Compromises.
- 145. The Constitution a National Question.
- 146. The Constitution discussed.
- 147. The Constitution adopted.
- 148. General Character of the Constitution.
- 149. Legislative Provisions.
- 150. Executive Provisions.
- 151. Judicial Provisions.
- 152. Provision for Amendment.
- 152. Checks and Balances.

PERIOD OF ORGANIZATION.

Washington's Administration,
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- 153. Washington, President.
- 153. His Inauguration.
- 154. Ordinance of 1787.
- Government {
 - 155. Organization.
 - 156. Revenue.
 - 157. National Debt.
 - 157. Capital.
 - 158. First Census.
 - 158. First Bank of the United States.
 - 158. Decimal Coinage.

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Period of Experiments
in Foreign and Domest-
ic Policy, 1797-1812.

159. New States.
159. Indian Wars.
160. Whiskey Insurrection.
161. Eli Whitney ; Cotton-gin.
162. Party Feeling.
163. Relations with Europe.
164. Jay's Treaty ; Other Treaties.
165. Washington's Farewell Address.
166. Election of John Adams.
166. John Adams, President.
167. Difficulties with France.
167. X. Y. Z. Correspondence.
168. Alien and Sedition Laws.
168. Virginia and Kentucky Resolutions.
169. Death of Washington.
169. Treaty with France.
170. Permanent Capital.
170. John Marshall, Chief Justice.
171. Election of Thomas Jefferson.
172. Federalist Influence.
173. Thomas Jefferson, President.
174. The Louisiana Question.
175. Louisiana Purchase.
176. Lewis and Clark Expedition.
176. Pike's Expedition.
177. War with Barbary States.
178. Rotation in Office.
178. Ohio admitted.
179. Hamilton and Burr. (*Map.*)
180. Reëlection of Jefferson.
180. Public Improvements.
181. European Affairs.
181. Orders in Council.
181. Berlin and Milan Decrees.
182. Injuries to American Commerce.
182. Impressment of Sailors.
183. The Embargo.
184. Robert Fulton, and the Steamboat.
184. James Madison, President.
184. Tippecanoe.
184. Louisiana admitted.

WAR WITH GREAT BRITAIN. (1812-1815.)

War of 1812,
1812-1815.

- 185. Grievances of the United States.
- 185. War declared.
- 186. Condition of the United States.
- 187. American Failures.
- 187. Naval Success. Perry.
- 188. Creek War; Andrew Jackson.
- 189. American Successes.
- 189. British Plans and Successes.
- 190. British capture Washington. (*Map.*)
- 191. British repulsed at Baltimore.
- 191. "Star-Spangled Banner." Note.
- 192. Southern Campaign.
- 192. New Orleans.
- 193. Peace of Ghent.
- 193. Results of War.
- 194. Hartford Convention.
- 195. Algerine War. Decatur.
- 196. New Bank of the United States.
- 197. Monroe elected.
- 197. End of the Federalists.

THE THIRTY YEARS' PEACE. (1815-1845.)

Era of Good Feeling,
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- 198. Increase of National Feeling.
- 198. James Monroe, President.
- 198. "Era of Good Feeling."
- 199. Jackson in Florida.
- 199. Cession of Florida.
- 200. Protection to Home Industries.
- 201. Agreement relative to Great Lakes.
- 202. Internal Improvements.
- 203. Erie Canal. (*Map.*)
- 204. Missouri Slave or Free.
- 205. Missouri Compromise. (*Map.*)
- 206. Monroe reelected.
- 207. Spanish-American Republics.
- 208. The Monroe Doctrine.
- 209. New National Issues.
- 209. Tariff of 1824.

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continued.)

- 210. John Quincy Adams elected by House of Representatives.
- 211. Adams's Character.
- 212. Visit of Lafayette.
- 213. Changes in the United States. (*Map.*)
- 214. Adams Unpopular.
- 214. Internal Improvements.
- 215. Pan-American Congress.
- 216. The Creek Indians.
- 217. Anti-Masonic Party.
- 218. "Era of Ill Feeling."
- 218. "Tariff of 1828."
- 219. Andrew Jackson, President.
- 220. Character of Jackson.
- 221. Removals from Office.
- 222. "Spoils System."
- 223. "Kitchen Cabinet."
- 224. United States Bank.
- 225. Jackson reelected.
- 225. "Removal of Deposits."
- 226. Nullification.
- 226. John C. Calhoun.
- 227. Compromise Tariff.
- 228. Cherokees in Georgia.
- 228. Indians removed to Indian Territory.
- 229. "Black Hawk War."
- 229. Seminole War; Osceola.
- 230. Material Development and Transportation.
- 231. Effects of Steam.
- Development of Country as affected by

{	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> 232. Railroads. 233. Inventions. 233. Coal and Iron Mines. 234. Household Appliances.
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- 235. Philanthropic Efforts.
- 236. Education; Newspapers.
- 237. Literature; Oratory.
- 238. Temperance Reforms.
- 239. Abolitionists.
- 240. "Nat Turner Insurrection"; Abolitionists.
- 241. Death of Chief Justice Marshall.
- 241. Surplus Revenue.

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continued.)

- 242. Martin Van Buren, President.
- 243. "Pet Banks"; Panic of 1837.
- 244. State Repudiation of Debts.
- 245. Sub-Treasury System.
- 246. Canadian Uprising.
- 247. Abolition Riots.
- 248. Whig Presidential Campaign.
- 248. William Henry Harrison, President.
- 249. President Harrison dies.
- 249. John Tyler becomes President.
- 249. Tyler disappoints the Whigs.
- 250. Ashburton Treaty with Great Britain.
- 251. Dorr "War"; "Anti-Renters."
- 252. Telegraph; Anæsthetics.
- 253. The Mormons.
- 254. Mormons in Utah.
- 255. The South and Texas.
- 256. Texas Annexation.
- 257. James K. Polk, President.
- 257. Texas admitted.
- 258. Polk's Measures.

MEXICAN WAR AND SLAVERY AGITATION. (1845-1861.)

Mexican War,
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- 259. War with Mexico.
- 260. Mexican Campaign.
- 260. New Mexico.
- 261. California captured.
- 262. Scott's Campaign.
- 263. Terms of Peace.
- 263. Results of the War. (*Map.*)
- 264. Oregon Question, 1842-1846.
- 265. Sub-Treasury System.
- 265. Tariff.

Slavery Agitation,
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- 266. Discovery of Gold in California.
- 267. Wilmot Proviso.
- 268. Zachary Taylor, President.
- 269. California sets up a Government.
- 269. Death of Taylor.
- 269. Fillmore succeeds.
- 270. Difficult Questions before Congress.
- 271. Compromise of 1850.

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continued.*)

271. Henry Clay.
272. Daniel Webster.
273. California admitted.
273. The Fugitive Slave Law.
274. Census of 1850.
274. Immigration.
275. Inventions.
276. Postage.
277. New Party Leaders.
277. Pierce elected.
278. New York World's Fair.
278. Japanese Ports opened.
279. Pacific Railroad.
279. "Uncle Tom's Cabin."
280. Kansas-Nebraska Bill.
281. American Party.
282. The South.
283. Representation in Congress.
284. Ostend Manifesto.
285. Troubles in Kansas.
286. Anti-Nebraska Men.
286. Republicans.
286. Charles Sumner.
287. James Buchanan, President.
288. "Dred Scott Case."
289. The Mormons.
290. Panic of 1857.
290. Ocean Cable.
291. Gold, Silver, Oil Fields.
292. John Brown.
293. Election of 1860.
294. Secession.
295. Confederate States of America.
296. Confederate Government.
296. State Sovereignty.
297. Buchanan's Views.
297. Peace Conference.
298. Inaction at the North.
298. Fort Sumter.
299. Inauguration of Lincoln.
300. Fall of Fort Sumter.

CIVIL WAR AND RECONSTRUCTION. (1861-1877.)

Civil War, 1861.

- 301. Effect of the Fall of Sumter.
- 301. Call for Volunteers.
- 301. Attack in Baltimore.
- 302. Effect of the Fall of Sumter in the South and on the Border States.
- 303. The Blockade.
- 304. North and South compared. (*Map.*)
- 305. North and South compared (cont.).
- 306. Territory and Advantages of the South.
- 307. Battle of Bull Run.
- 308. Importance of Bull Run.
- 309. General McClellan; the West.
- 310. Northern Plans.
- 311. Election of Davis and Stephens.
- 311. Mason and Slidell.

1862.

- 312. Condition of Affairs, January, 1862. (*Map.*)
- 313. Confederate Government.
- 313. Western Campaigns; General Grant.
- 314. *Monitor* and *Merrimac*.
- 314. New Orleans taken.
- 315. Peninsula Campaign. (*Map.*)
- 315. General Robert E. Lee.
- 316. "Stonewall" Jackson.
- 316. Antietam.

1863.

- 317. Fredericksburg; Murfreesboro.
- 318. Slavery; "Contrabands."
- 319. Emancipation Proclamation announced.
- 320. Emancipation Proclamation issued.
- 321. Prisoners of War.
- 322. Sioux War.
- 323. Campaign in the West.
- 324. Campaign in the East. (*Map.*)
- 325. Gettysburg.
- 326. Vicksburg; Chattanooga.
- 327. Morgan's Raid.
- 328. The Blockade, Naval Operations.
- 329. Privateers; the *Alabama*.
- 330. Conscription, North and South.
- 331. Finances, North and South.

(*Civil War — continued.*)

1864.

- 332. Greenbacks and Small Notes.
- 333. Premium on Gold.
- 334. Finances in the South. (*Map.*)
- 335. National Bank Act.
- 336. Union Armies, East and West.
- 337. General Grant placed at Head of Union Army.
- 338. Grant's and Sherman's Plans.
- 339. "On to Richmond" ; Early's Raid.
- 340. Sheridan in Shenandoah Valley.
- 341. Sherman takes Atlanta.
- 341. Thomas at Nashville.
- 342. Sherman begins his March.
- 343. March through Georgia.
- 344. Savannah abandoned.
- 345. Naval Operations.
- 345. Farragut at Mobile.
- 345. Confederate Cruisers.
- 346. Peace Party in the North.
- 346. Lincoln renominated.
- 347. Nominating Conventions.
- 348. Political State of the North.
- 348. Lincoln reelected.
- 349. Admission of West Virginia and Nevada.
- 350. Charleston taken.
- 350. Sherman's March Northward.
- 351. Chase appointed Chief Justice.

1865.

- 351. Peace Negotiations.
- 352. Richmond evacuated.
- 352. Lee's Surrender.
- 353. President Lincoln assassinated.
- 354. Andrew Jackson, President.
- 354. The War. { Effects. { Moral.
 { Cost. { Political.
- 355. Losses of the War.
- 356. Sanitary and Christian Commissions.
- 356. Results of the War.

Reconstruction

Period, 1865-1877.

- 357. Andrew Johnson.
- 358. Provisional Governors in the South.
- 359. Thirteenth Amendment to the Constitution.
- 359. Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution.
- 360. Reconstruction Acts.

(*Reconstruction Period—
continued.*)

- 361. Six States admitted ; " Carpet-baggers."
- 362. Tenure of Office Act.
- 362. Impeachment of the President.
- 363. Grant and Colfax elected.
- 363. Amnesty Proclamation.
- 364. Atlantic Telegraph Cable.
- 364. Alaska bought. (*Map. Territorial Growth.*)
- 365. French in Mexico.
- 366. Ulysses S. Grant, President.
- 366. Expatriation.
- 366. Chinese Treaty.
- 366. Pacific Railroad finished.
- 366. San Domingo.
- 367. " Ku Klux Klan."
- 367. All States represented in Congress.
- 368. Fifteenth Amendment to the Constitution.
- 368. Civil Rights, and Election Acts.
- 369. Indian Peace Policy.
- 370. Alabama Claims ; Geneva Arbitration.
- 371. Geneva Award.
- 371. Fisheries Award.
- 371. Northwest Boundary Decision.
- 372. Fires { Chicago.
Forest.
Boston.
- 373. Amnesty Bill.
- 373. Liberal Republicans.
- 373. Horace Greeley.
- 374. The " Modoc War."
- 375. Commercial Crisis, 1873.
- 376. Temperance Crusade.
- 377. Weather Bureau.
- 378. Credit Mobilier.
- 378. " Franking " abolished.
- 378. " Back Salary grab."
- 379. Republican Political Reverses.
- 380. Whiskey Frauds.
- 380. Resumption Act.
- 381. Centennial Exhibition.
- 381. Telephone and Electricity.
- 382. Sioux War.

- 382. Colorado Admitted.
- 383. Impeachment of Belknap.
- 384. Returning Boards.
- 385. Electoral Commission.
- 386. Hayes elected.

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT. (1877-1893.)

Growth and
Development,
1877-1893.

- 387. Rutherford B. Hayes, President.
- 387. Withdrawal of Troops from the South.
- 388. Silver Bill.
- 389. Railroad Strikes.
- 390. Yellow Fever in the South.
- 391. Mississippi Jetties.
- 392. Resumption of Specie Payments.
- 393. James A. Garfield, President.
- 393. Assassination of the President.
- 394. Chester A. Arthur becomes President.
- 395. Anti-Polygamy Bill.
- 395. Civil Service Act.
- 396. Mississippi Floods.
- 396. Tariff Revision.
- 397. Brooklyn Bridge.
- 397. "Standard Time." (*Map.*)
- 398. Washington Monument completed.
- 398. Yorktown Centennial.
- 399. New Orleans Cotton Exhibition, and the South.
- 400. The South in 1884.
- 400. George Peabody.
- 401. Election of 1884.
- 402. Grover Cleveland, President.
- Important Acts of Congress. {
 - 403. Presidential Succession.
 - 403. Electoral Count.
 - 404. Interstate Commerce.
 - 404. Chinese Exclusion.
- 405. Labor Troubles.
- 405. Knights of Labor.
- 406. Strikes; Chicago Riots.
- 407. Charleston Earthquake.
- 407. Statue of Liberty.
- 408. Surplus Revenue.

(Growth and Development — continued.)

- 409. Mills Bill.
- 410. Benjamin Harrison, President.
- 411. Oklahoma.
- 411. Washington Centennial.
- 412. Johnstown Disaster.
- 412. Forty-five States.
- 413. Pan-American Congress.
- 414. Filibustering in Congress.
- 415. "McKinley Bill."
- 415. Pension Bill.
- 416. Democratic Success.
- 417. Anti-Lottery Bill.
- 417. Inspection of Food.
- 417. Increase of the Navy.
- 417. Interstate Commerce Act.
- 417. "Sherman Act."
- 417. Columbian Exposition Act.
- 417. International Copyright Act.
- 418. Census of 1890.
- 419. New Orleans Riot, and Trouble with Italy.
- 420. Chile Troubles.
- 420. Bering Sea Arbitration.
- 421. Ballot Reform.
- 422. Homestead Labor Troubles.
- 423. Columbian Celebration.
- 424. Party Platforms of 1892.
- 425. Party Platforms of 1892 (*continued*).
- 426. Grover Cleveland again President.
- 427. Second Inauguration of Cleveland.
- 427. Bering Sea Arbitration.
- 428. Repeal of Sherman Act.
- 428. Financial Crisis of 1893.
- 429. Hawaiian Difficulties.
- 430. Close of Columbian Exposition.
- 431. United States in 1893.
- 431. Interstate Emigration.
- 431. Foreign Immigration.
- 432. Urban Population.
- 433. Irrigation.
- 433. Forest Reservations.
- 434. Natural Gas.

**Economic, Social, and
Literary Conditions.**

(*Economic, Social, and
Literary Conditions—
continued.*)

**Social Affairs ;
Politics ; Diplomacy.**

**The War with Spain ;
Territorial Expansion.**

435. Invention.
435. Transportation ; Inland Commerce.
436. The New South.
436. Pacific Coast.
437. Education.
438. Libraries and Associations.
439. Literature. Newspapers.
440. " Wilson Bill ; " Senate Bill.
441. Pullman and Railroad Strikes.
441. Coal Miners' Strikes.
442. New York City Reforms.
442. " Commonwealers."
443. Anti-Lottery Bill.
443. National Military Park.
443. Atlanta Exposition.
444. Republican Nominations, 1896.
445. Democratic Nominations, 1896.
446. " Populist " and Other Nominations, 1896.
447. The Presidential Campaign, 1896.
448. Venezuelan Difficulty.
449. Spain ; The Cuban Question.
450. The United States and Cuba.
450. The *Virginius* (1873).
451. Cuban Rebellion.
451. American Interests.
452. Destruction of the *Maine*.
452. Board of Inquiry.
453. President McKinley's Cuban Message.
454. Cuban Resolutions.
454. Declaration of War with Spain.
455. Public Opinion in United States.
455. War Revenue Act.
456. Blockade of Cuba.
457. Dewey's Victory at Manila.
458. Cervera's Fleet.
458. Hobson's Feat.
459. Santiago Campaign.
460. Destruction of Cervera's Fleet.
461. Surrender of Santiago.
461. Porto Rico Campaign.

(*The War with Spain; Territorial Expansion — continued.*)

- 461. Spain sues for Peace.
- 461. Fall of Manila.
- 462. Treaty of Peace. Terms.
- 463. Opinions in United States regarding the Treaty.
- 464. Cost of the War.
- 464. Red Cross Society.
- 465. Annexation of Hawaii.
- 466. Guam. Tutuila
- 466. Samoan Islands.
- 467. Prosperity.
- 467. Results of the War with Spain.
- 468. Gold Standard Act.
- 468. Galveston Disaster.
- 469. Presidential Campaign of 1900.
- 470. Philippine Commission.
- 470. Census of 1900.

APPENDIX XI.

A SHORT LIST OF WORKS FOR TEACHERS AND READERS

NOTE. A vast amount of useful and important information is contained in the Periodical Literature of the past few years; most libraries possess Poole's *Index to Periodical Literature*, with its supplements, or *The Cumulative Index to Periodicals*, by means of which consultation of periodicals is made easy.

I. BOOKS, ETC., CONTAINING ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS, AND SOURCES OF AMERICAN HISTORY.

H. W. Preston, *Documents illustrative of American History, 1606-1863*. New edition. \$2.50. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

Old South Leaflets, edited by Edwin D. Mead. Five cents a number, or the one hundred numbers bound in 4 vols., \$1.50 per volume. Sold separately. Directors of the Old South Work, Boston. One hundred numbers already issued; others to follow. An excellent collection of original documents illustrative of American History. List furnished on application to the publishers.

American History Leaflets, edited by A. B. Hart and E. Channing. Ten cents per number. A. Lovell & Co., New York. A series similar to the *Old South Leaflets*. Thirty numbers issued. Another excellent series. List furnished on application to publishers.

American History Studies, edited by H. W. Caldwell. Five cents a number. Ainsworth & Co., Chicago. Thirty numbers published. Somewhat similar to *Old South Leaflets*, but consisting chiefly of extracts from sources. List furnished on application to publishers.

American Colonial Tracts. "A monthly series of reprints of some of the more valuable pamphlets relating to the early history of America." Single numbers at 25 cents each, or \$3.00 by the year. George P. Humphrey, Rochester, N.Y. List furnished on application to the publisher.

Albert Bushnell Hart, *American History told by Contemporaries*. 4 vols. \$2.00 per vol. I. Era of Colonization, 1493-1689; II. Building of the Republic, 1689-1783; III. National Expansion, 1783-1844; IV. Welding of the Nation, 1845-1897. The Macmillan Co., New York. (Vol. IV. in preparation.)

NOTE. — The regular retail prices are given; from these there is generally a discount.

Albert Bushnell Hart, *Source-Book of American History*, edited for Schools and Readers. The Macmillan Co. With "Practical Introductions," how to use "Sources," etc. This and the preceding collection are judiciously chosen, but the selections are often very brief.

Library of American Literature from the Earliest Settlement to the Present Time, edited by E. C. Stedman and E. M. Hutchinson. 11 vols. 8vo. \$3.00 per volume. W. E. Benjamin, New York, 1891.

Representative American Orations to illustrate American Political History, edited by A. Johnston. 4 vols. New edition. \$5.00. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York. Cover the period 1775-1881. Valuable introductions.

M. S. Barnes and E. Barnes, *Studies in American History*. \$1.25. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1892. Has many extracts from original sources, and can be used to great profit with a narrative History.

American Almanac, 1830-1861; *Spofford's American Almanac*, 1878-1889; *Tribune Almanac* (begun as the *Whig Almanac*). New York, 1838-1900; the *World Almanac*, New York, 1887-1900. For general statistics, etc., of the world, *The Statesman's Year Book*. \$3.00 per volume. 1863-1900. The Macmillan Co., London and New York. *Whitaker's Almanack*. 1869-1900. \$1.00 per volume. *Hazell's Annual*, 1886-1900, London. \$1.50 per volume.

II. BIBLIOGRAPHIES AND AIDS.

C. K. Adams, *Manual of Historical Literature*. New edition. Harper's, New York, 1889. \$2.50.

W. F. Allen, *History Topics for the Use of High Schools and Colleges*. Paper, thirty cents. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1890.

W. E. Foster, *References to History of Presidential Administrations*, 1789-1885. Paper, twenty-five cents. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

E. E. Sparks, *Topical Reference Lists in American History*. A. H. Smythe, Columbus, O., 1893.

Epochs of American History. Valuable bibliographies prefixed to each volume, and also to each chapter. See page lv.

J. Winsor, *The Reader's Handbook of the American Revolution*. 1761-1783. \$1.00. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1880.

Narrative and Critical History of America. 8 vols. Royal 8vo. \$40.00. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1885-1889. Valuable bibliographies, illustrations, facsimiles, etc. A great storehouse of facts.

B. A. Hinsdale, *How to teach and study History, with particular reference to the History of the United States*. \$1.50. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1894. An excellent work.

M. S. Barnes, *Studies in Historical Method*. Ninety cents. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1896. A valuable and very suggestive little work.

The Study of History in Schools. Report of the Committee of Seven to American Historical Association. 1899. Fifty cents. The Macmillan Co., New York City.

W. H. Mace, *Method in History*. \$1.00. Ginn & Co., Boston.

Methods of Teaching and Studying History, edited by G. Stanley Hall. Second edition. \$1.50. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

W. F. Gordy and W. I. Twitchell, *A Pathfinder in American History*, Parts I. and II. \$1.20. Boston, 1893. Lee and Shephard. Containing special reference lists for various grades, outline courses, topics, bibliographies, suggestions. A valuable help to the teacher.

H. A. Davidson, *Reference History of the United States for High Schools and Academies*. Ninety cents. Ginn & Co., Boston, 1892. A topical analysis, with exact references to various works.

J. F. Sargent, *Reading for the Young*. \$1.00. Boston, Library Bureau. 1890. Contains bibliography of American History for youth of all ages.

E. Channing and A. B. Hart, *Guide to the Study of American History*. \$2.00. Boston, Ginn & Co., 1896. By far the most complete work on the subject. Chiefly for advanced classes.

C. Ploetz, *Epitome of Ancient, Mediæval, and Modern History*. Translated, with extensive additions, by W. H. Tillinghast. Second edition. \$3.00. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1884. The best book of its class, and invaluable for reference.

A. E. Wilson, *Compendium of United States History and Literature*. Forty cents. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston, 1896.

III. MAPS. (*Reference; and Outline for Pupil's Use.*)

A. B. Hart, *Epoch Maps illustrating American History*. Fifty cents. Longmans & Co., New York, 1891. Illustrates "The Historical Geography of the United States and of the Previous Colonies."

T. MacCoun, *An Historical Geography of the United States*. New edition. \$1.00. Silver, Burdett & Co., Boston, 1890. A series of forty-five maps, illustrating American History from the earliest times to 1890. Accompanied by an explanatory text; a useful book.

A. B. Hart and E. Channing, *Outline Maps of the United States*. The large map is in four sections, each 26×42 inches. Price, fifteen cents one section; fifty cents, complete. The small map is $11\frac{1}{2} \times 18$ inches. Price, two cents; \$1.50 per hundred. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. Messrs. Heath & Co. also publish a series of Progressive Outline Maps, United States, New England, Middle Atlantic States, Southern States, Eastern Division; Southern States, Western Division; Central States, Eastern Division; Central States, Western Division; Pacific States; the Great Lakes. Two cents each; \$1.50 per hundred; also an Intermediate Outline Map of the United States for Historical and Geographical study, 28×40 inches. Thirty cents.

IV. GENERAL HISTORIES, ETC.

G. Bancroft, *A History of the United States from the discovery of America*. Author's last revision. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1886-1888. 6 vols. \$15.00. Very full. Ends with 1789.

R. Hildreth, *A History of the United States* (to 1821). 6 vols. \$18.00. Harper's, New York. One of the best accounts of the period.

J. Schouler (Skool'er), *History of the United States under the Constitution, 1789-1865*. 6 vols. \$13.50. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1880-1891. The best account of the period. Forms, with either Bancroft or Hildreth, a continuous history from the earliest period.

W. C. Bryant and S. H. Gay, *Popular History of the United States*. 5 vols. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Sold by subscription. Profusely illustrated. Particularly strong on colonial history.

H. Adams, *History of the United States, 1801-1817*. 9 vols. \$18.00. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York. Very full. The best history of the period.

E. Channing, *Student's History of the United States*. \$1.40. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1898. (Revised ed., 1900.)

J. B. McMaster, *History of the People of the United States from the Revolution to the Civil War*. 6 vols. (5 vols. published). \$2.50 per volume. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1883-1892. Dwells largely on social history.

A. B. Hart, editor, *Epochs of American History*. 3 vols. \$1.25 per volume.
1. R. G. Thwaites, *The Colonies, 1492-1750*; 2. A. B. Hart, *Formation of the Union, 1750-1829*; 3. W. Wilson, *Division and Reunion, 1829-1889*. (Revised ed., 1898.) "With full marginal analyses, working bibliographies, maps, and indices." Longmans & Co., New York, 1891-1893. The third volume is written from a point of view which differs much from that of the first two volumes.

The American History Series. 5 vols. 1. G. P. Fisher, *The Colonial Era, 1492-1756*; 2. W. M. Sloane, *The French War and the Revolution, 1756-1787*; 3. F. A. Walker, *The Making of the Nation, 1787-1815*. \$1.25 each. 4. J. W. Burgess, *The Middle Period (1815-1858)*. \$1.75. 5. J. W. Burgess, *Civil War and Reconstruction*, in preparation. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1892-1897. A series somewhat similar to the "Epoch Series" just named, but more popular in treatment, and without the full bibliographies.

R. Frothingham, *The Rise of the Republic of the United States*. New edition. \$3.50. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. Excellent.

H. C. Lodge, *A Short History of the English Colonies in America*. \$3.00. Harper's, New York. Despite some faults, probably the best single volume on the subject.

S. A. Drake, *The Making of New England; The Making of Virginia and the Middle Colonies; The Making of the Ohio Valley States; The Making of the Great West; Border Wars of New England*. \$1.50 each. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1886-1894. An excellent series of handbooks.

J. F. Rhodes, *History of the United States from the Compromise of 1850* (4 vols. published). \$2.50 per volume. Harper's, New York, 1893. Specially strong on the history of Slavery. Best history of the period.

F. Parkman, *France and England in North America*. 12 vols. \$18.00. Little, Brown & Co., Boston. Invaluable for the history of the French in America.

J. Fiske, *The Discovery of America*, 2 vols.; *Old Virginia and her Neighbors*, 2 vols.; *Beginnings of New England; The Dutch and Quaker Colonies*, 2 vols.;

The American Revolution, 2 vols.; *The Critical Period of American History*, 1783-1789. \$2.00 per volume. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston.

E. B. Andrews, *The Last Quarter-Century in the United States*, 1870-1895. 2 vols. \$6.00. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York, 1896. Richly illustrated. A panorama of events rather than a history.

J. N. Larned, *History for Ready Reference*, etc. 5 vols. \$25.00. C. A. Nichols Co., Springfield, Mass., 1894-1895. The fifth volume is almost wholly given up to the United States. The work consists of extracts from the principal historians, and is furnished with valuable maps, original documents, etc.

E. E. Sparks, *Expansion of the American People*. \$2.00. Scott, Foresman & Co., Chicago, 1900.

C. D. Wright, *The Industrial Evolution of the United States*. \$1.00. Chau-tauqua Press, New York, 1895.

B. J. Lossing, *Harper's Popular Cyclopædia of United States History*. 2 vols. New York, 1881.

N. S. Shaler, editor. *The United States of America: A Study of the American Commonwealth, Its Natural Resources, People, etc.* 2 vols. \$10.00. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1894.

Edward Eggleston, *A History of Life in the United States* (two volumes published), *The Beginners of a Nation*. \$1.50. D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1896.

R. H. Titherington, *History of the Spanish-American War*. \$1.50. Appleton, New York.

V. CONSTITUTIONAL AND POLITICAL WORKS.

J. J. Lalor, editor. *Cyclopædia of Political Science, Political Economy*, and of the *Political History of the United States*. 3 vols. \$18.00. D. D. Merrill Co., New York. The articles on United States history and politics are by Alexander Johnston, and are of high value.

A. Johnston, *History of American Politics*, 1783-1881. \$1.00. H. Holt & Co., New York. Impartial; the only brief work of the kind.

E. Stanwood, *History of the Presidency*, 1789-1892. New edition. \$2.50. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1898. A non-partisan account of all presidential elections, with statistics, 1788-1896.

I. W. Andrews, *Manual of the Constitution*. \$1.00. American Book Co., New York.

C. F. Dole, *The American Citizen*. \$1.00. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

C. T. Hopkins, *Manual of American Ideas*. \$1.50. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston.

Both the works just named are valuable for inculcating right views of citizenship.

J. Fiske, *Civil Government in the United States*. \$1.00. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, 1890. Written in the author's entertaining style. One of the best books on the subject.

F. N. Thorpe, *The Government of the People of the United States*. \$1.00. New edition. Eldredge & Bro., Philadelphia.

J. Macy, *Our Government*. Eighty-five cents. New edition. Ginn & Co., Boston.

W. Wilson, *The State and Federal Governments of the United States*. Fifty-five cents. D. C. Heath & Co., Boston. The part relating to the United States in Professor Wilson's larger work, *The State*.

J. Bryce, *The American Commonwealth*. Revised edition. 2 vols. \$4.00. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1895. The ablest study of American institutions.

VI. BIOGRAPHIES.

Appleton's *Cyclopædia of American Biography*, edited by John Fiske and Jas. Grant Wilson. 6 vols. and Supplement. \$34.00 D. Appleton & Co., New York, 1889. The most complete work of the kind.

American Statesmen Series, edited by John T. Morse, Jr. \$1.25 per volume. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. An admirable series of American political biographies. List furnished on application to publishers.

Beacon Biographies, edited by M. A. DeWolfe Howe. Seventy-five cents each. Small, Maynard & Co., Boston. A well-edited series of brief biographies of "eminent Americans." List furnished on application to publishers.

Riverside Biographies Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston. Seventy-five cents each. A good series of brief biographies, somewhat similar to the Beacon Biographies, but especially intended for young people. List forwarded on application to the publishers.

Makers of America Series. \$1.00 per volume. Dodd, Mead & Co., New York, 1890-1893. A very unequal collection.

E. E. Sparks, *The Men who made the Nation*. \$2.00. The Macmillan Co., New York, 1901.

J. Sparks, editor. *Library of American Biography*. 10 vols. 16mo. Harper's, New York. \$12.50. Volumes sold separately. This series contains biographies not easily accessible elsewhere, and though an old work, is still worthy of consultation. Note: This is the second series; the first series has long been out of print.

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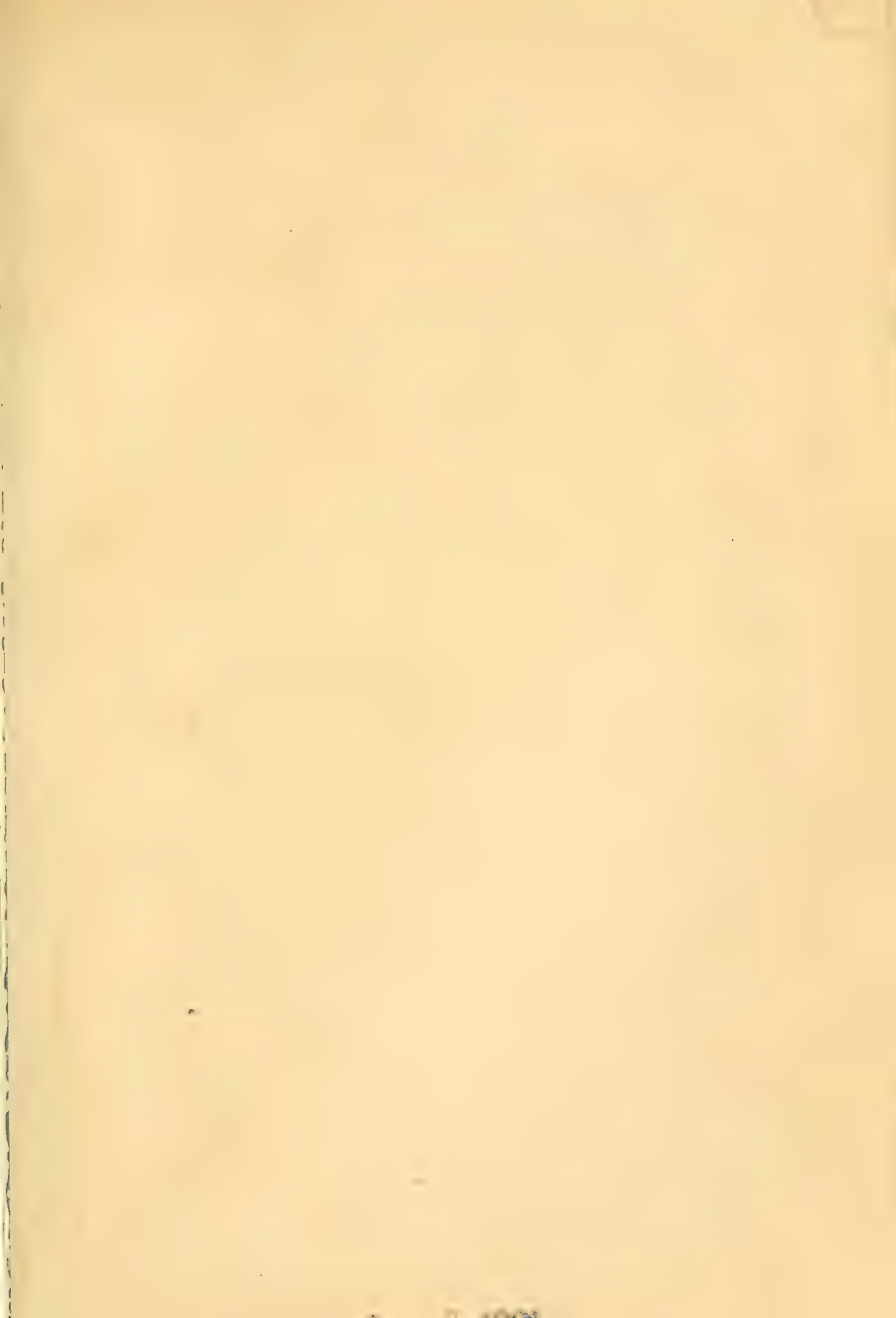
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CANADA

ATLANTIC OCEAN

ATLANTIC

BAHAMA

ISLANDS

CUBA

CARIBBEAN SEA

MAP OF THE UNITED STATES AND ITS POSSESSIONS 1900

Scale of Miles

0 100 200 300 400 500

NOTE: The maps of Hawaii, Samoa, Guam and Wake Is. same scale as map of Philippine Islands.



Longitude West

85

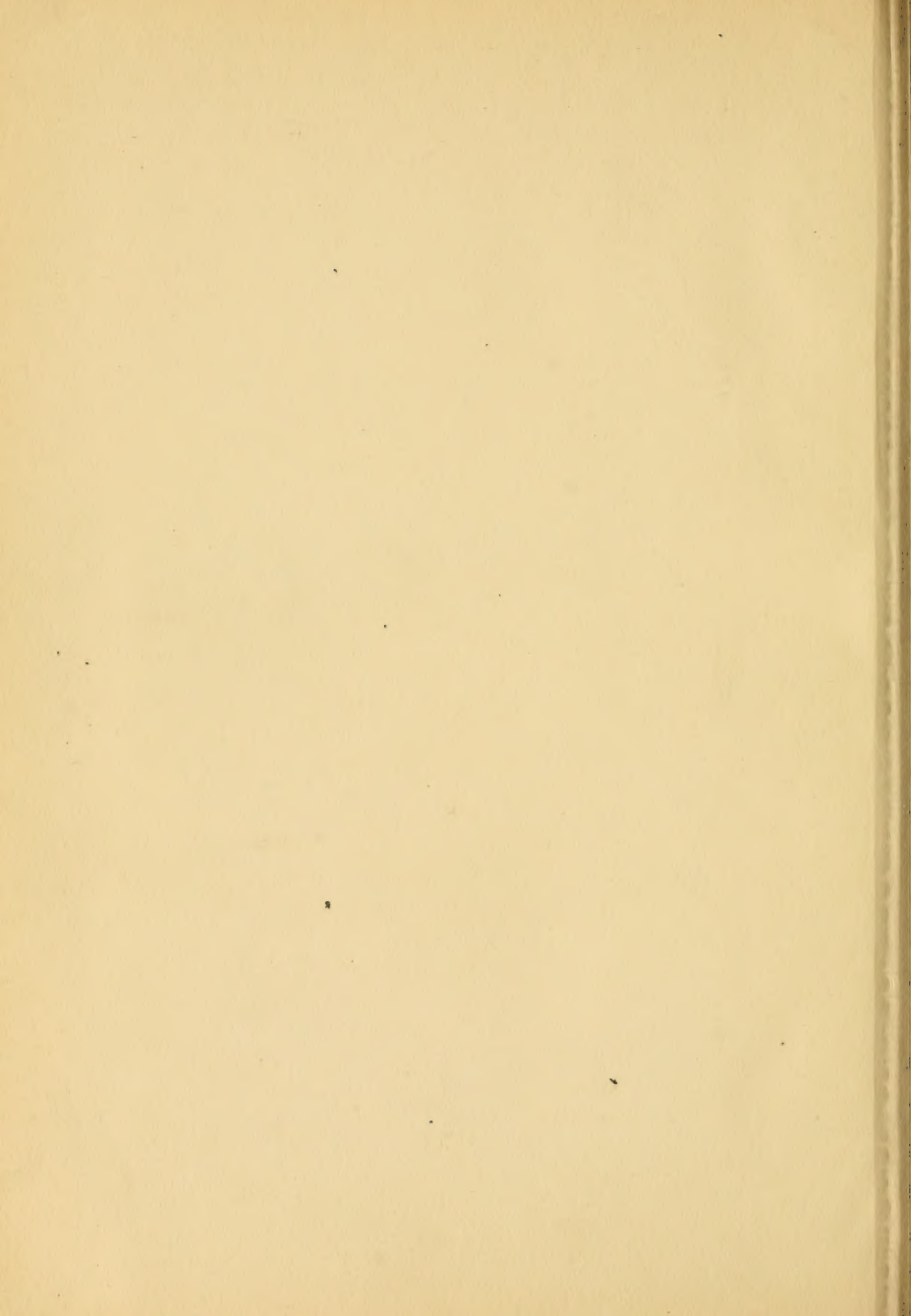
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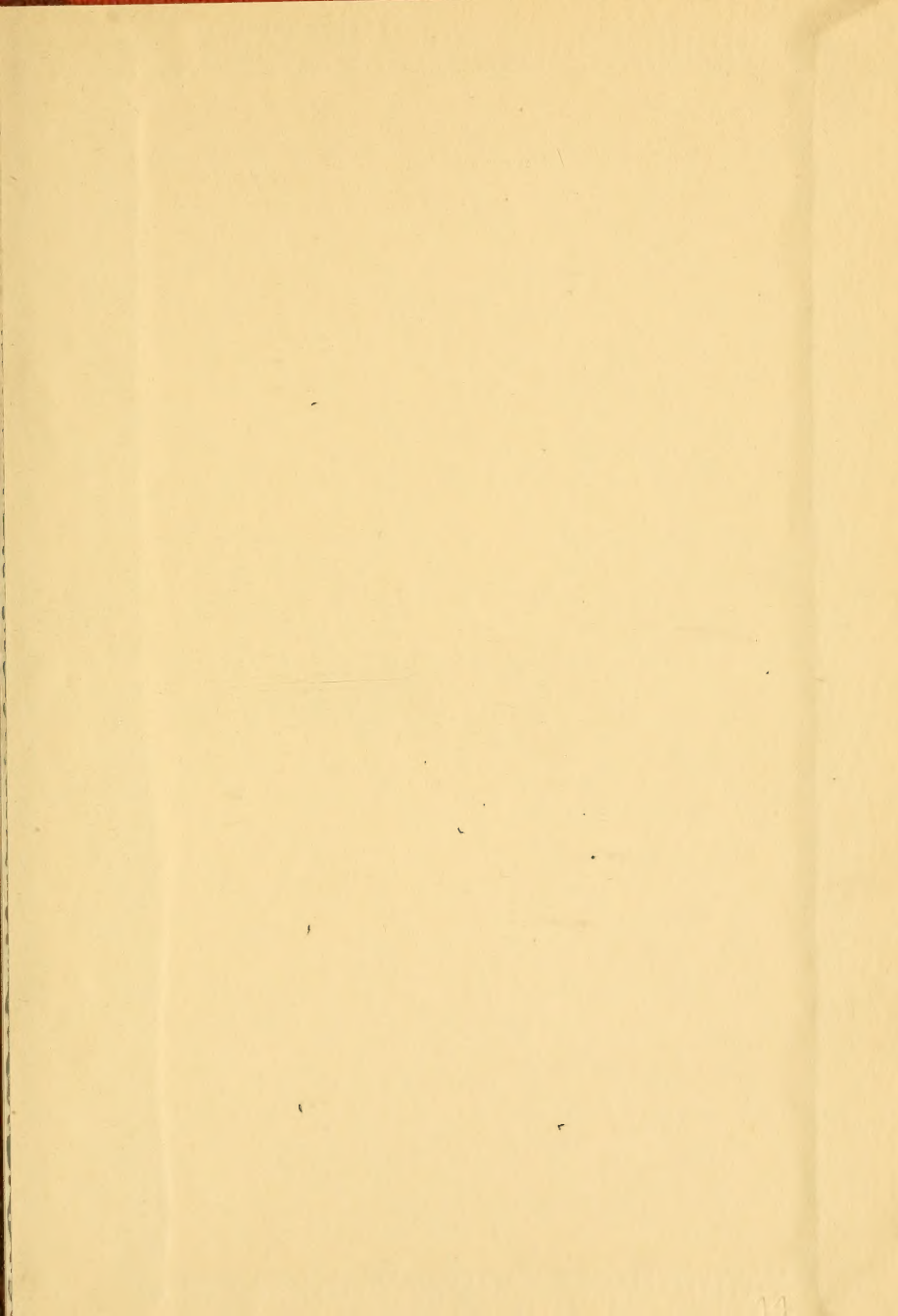
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